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THE
REFORMED
Quarterly Review.

EDITORS:

THOMAS G. APPLE, D. D.,
Professor in the Theological Seminary, Lancaster Pa.

JOHN M. TITZEL, D. D.,
Lancaster, Pa.

WILLIAM RUPP, D.D.,
Lancaster, Pa.

THE TRUTH SHALL MAKE YOU FREE.

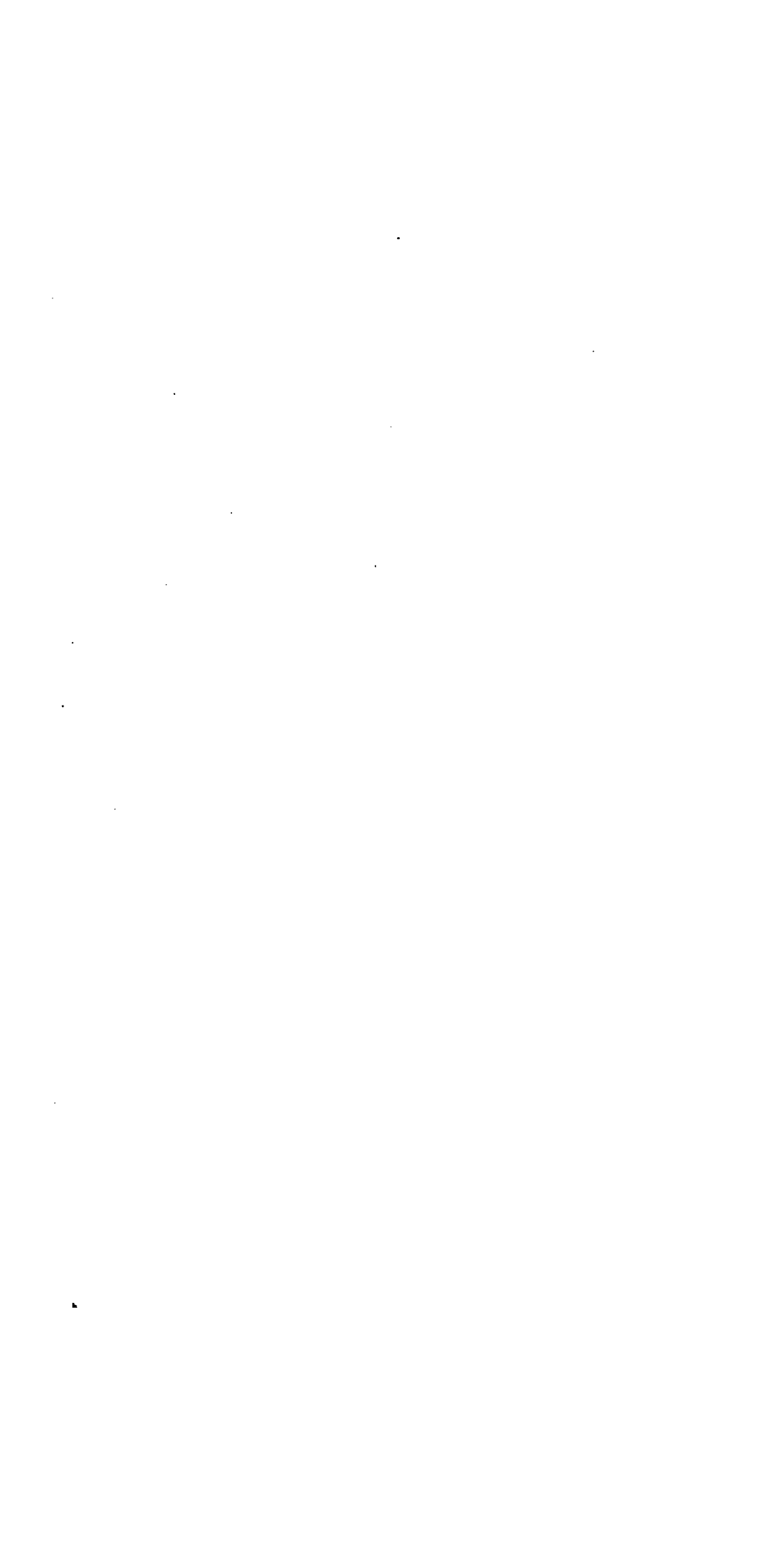
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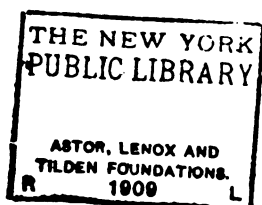
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THE REFORMED QUARTERLY REVIEW

NO. 1.—JANUARY, 1894.

I.

GOSPEL AND LAW.

BY PROFESSOR EML. V. GENHART, D.D.

THE original communion between God and man is the communion of love. Constituted by man's creation in the divine image, it is the principle of God's revelation of Himself in nature, in humanity, in Jesus Christ, and of all earthly and spiritual blessings bestowed on the race in its primeval state of goodness, and since its alienation from God by transgression. This original communion which, though violated, has not been abrogated by transgression, but survives hostility to Truth and the wickedness of men, is likewise the foundation of all forms of moral obligation binding men to obedience in the service of God's kingdom.

On this original communion of love Christianity is founded. A new communion it is in the Person and Mediatorship of Jesus Christ, but it neither sets aside nor supercedes that which is original. Presupposing the original communion falsified by sin, Christianity asserts it, develops and perfects it, by virtue of a new creation. The new creation in Christ constituted "in the likeness of sinful flesh" becomes, according to the law of love the atonement, which on the one hand is unifying and vivific,

and on the other a propitiation and a ransom. In one respect, the new creation in the Second Man is related to the old creation in the First Man, as the mustard tree is related to the mustard seed.

The original communion requires and justifies faith in God as manifested in the first creation. The new communion of love requires and justifies faith in God as He is manifested by the new creation in His incarnate Son. And as the new creation is the manifestation of love, new in kind, and on the plane of a human life different from and other than the plane of life on which the primeval family was fashioned, it calls forth and warrants a quality of love answering to its unique genius.

True faith in God is an active principle. In the old creation as in the new creation, it works by love. Man's love of God is responsive to God's love of man. The authority of God binding man to obey the divine law is the expression of God's love; and the will of man to yield unquestioning obedience to the divine law is the expression of man's love responsive to God. The gospel conditions the authority, the wisdom and efficiency of law. Law, genuine obedience, and the blessedness of obedience presuppose the grace and sympathy of the gospel. The formula: *thou shalt love*, becomes the fundamental formula of all God's commandments, and inspires the righteousness enjoined by both tables of the Decalogue.

I.

The law fundamental to all commandments is: Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart. The second commandment is subordinate, but in kind like the first: Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.

The formula: Thou shalt love, expresses the essence of the obligation common to both commandments.

The response toward God required of the Adamic race by divine authority is *love*. Love is the free consecration of the whole man in will and thought and feeling to God, the highest Good, a consecration which energizes and ennobles the manhood

of man. From this love is developed righteous obedience to the divine will in all the relations of social life.

That the race might be qualified in reality to make to God the response of genuine love, and in all relations honor the divine will, man by the creative word was constituted a personal being, and as personal every individual is addressed by the fundamental formula of obligation: *Thou.* ‘

Inasmuch as God is Love, who by His creative word formed man in the image of love, designing him exclusively for the two-fold communion of love with God and with his neighbor, the command enjoined by divine authority is categorical: *Thou shalt.* Says Godet: God has no higher life than that of love.

Neither age nor sex, neither learning nor culture, neither riches nor poverty, neither high rank nor obscurity, neither health nor sickness may take the place or have the force of a condition of obligation. As all men and women and children, whatever may be their environments, are personal, either in fact or in possibility, the command: *Thou shalt love*, binds all persons unconditionally, binds them to the degree and under the form that personal life exists, or has been developed.

Genuine love to man presupposes genuine love to God. Genuine love to God is rooted in the faith that confides in God. And the only faith that confides in God agreeably to God's will is the faith that recognizes and obeys God as He has revealed Himself by His Incarnate Son. “This is the work of God, that ye believe on him whom he hath sent.”

Inasmuch as faith in Christ is an active principle, it works according to the fundamental law of all righteousness, which is expressed by the formula: *Thou shalt love.*

II.

The blessing of God freely bestowed on man precedes the expression and enforcement of divine authority. The obligation binding the conscience to obey the divine law presupposes the gifts bestowed by divine love. In other words, the commu-

nications of Love to man condition the demand of Love made upon man.

At the beginning of the sacred record of human history we are taught the truth that God made man, and that He made him in His own image. However low the plane may have been on which the first man began to live, he was constituted in principle a god-like personality. He was *man*, the unity of reason and will, not an animal. Endowed with god-like personality, he was superior to all sub-human kingdoms, and therefore was commanded to exercise dominion over the fish of the sea, over the fowl of the air and the beast of the field. Being personal, he could develop a personal history. Therefore we have a series of ethical and judicial events set before us by the pictorial representations of Genesis. Man had authority to eat of the fruit of the trees of the garden; he had no authority to eat of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil.

The physical and moral ability to honor God by obedience was the endowment of divine love. This endowment, not subjection to authority, was the first fact of human history. When the endowment had been given it became a demand for objective authority. Then followed the law for the government of his will. Man had the ability to obey in both directions, either to eat or not to eat; ability to eat of the fruit of all the trees but one, and not to eat of the forbidden fruit. After man had been constituted a personal being the demand for law awoke. Following the endowment came the mandate and the prohibition; both came to regulate the development and culture of man's mental and moral faculties.

The Decalogue observes the same principle. First in the history of the elect people was the call of God to Abraham to depart from Ur of the Chaldees, and go out unto a place which he was to receive for an inheritance. Connected with this call was the promise of a son by his wife Sarah, and of an innumerable posterity. Jehovah enters into covenant with Abraham, confirming it by an oath; and Abraham accepts the covenant, believing the word of Jehovah.

Then came long periods of discipline, first of Abraham, afterwards of his posterity, and a succession of blessings, prominent among which was the deliverance of the chosen people from the bondage of Egypt. Now, after these wonderful dealings with the nation whom Jehovah had chosen for Himself, follows the expression of Jehovah's authority given by the Ten Commandments. The election and the gifts of God's love precede the obligations imposed by God's love. This relation of divine blessings to the enforcement of divine authority is announced in the preface: I am the Lord thy God, who brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage.

Jehovah was the God of this peculiar people. From among all other persons He had chosen Abraham to be the founder of 'a holy nation;' in Abraham, then in Isaac and Jacob, Jehovah had chosen Abraham's descendants. He had loved this people, multiplied their numbers, directed their history, delivered them from bondage, defended them against enemies, and subjected them to moral and religious discipline, as an earthly father loves his children, trains them, and supplies their needs.

For the Lord's portion is His people;
Jacob is the lot of his inheritance.
He found him in a desert land,
And in the waste howling wilderness;
He compassed him about, He cared for him,
He kept him as the apple of His eye:
As an eagle that stirreth up her nest,
That fluttereth over her young,
He spread abroad his wings, He took them,
He bare them on his pinions:
The Lord alone did lead him,
And there was no strange God with Him.*

Therefore His chosen people, the object of His electing love, were in turn bound to love Jehovah, to honor His name, to obey His commandments. Therefore the people needed the expression of Jehovah's will. They needed a moral law, not only as uttered by the darkened conscience, but a law definitely

* Deut. 32: 9-12.

pronounced in words, a law addressing them authoritatively from without as well as from within.

The giving of the Ten Commandments accordingly presupposes the special blessings of Jehovah experienced in the entire history of the chosen nation, extending through centuries of discipline.

Obedience to the Ten Commandments was not the condition of Jehovah's love, not the condition of Jehovah's recognition of the nation as His chosen people; but the election and blessing of Jehovah was the condition of the obligation binding this people, in contradistinction from all other nations, to obey the moral and ceremonial law. If the posterity of Abraham had not been the chosen people, if Jehovah had not with a mighty hand brought them out of the house of bondage, delivering them from subjection to Pharaoh, they would not have received the Ten Commandments. To a degree they were fitted to obey the righteous will of Jehovah, and, therefore, they were honored with the formal expression of His righteous will. Otherwise this branch of the Semitic race would have occupied the plane on which all Gentiles stood—would have continued to be counted among those who, 'having no law, are a law unto themselves.'

The law, whether moral or ceremonial, fulfills a twofold purpose:

1. Law has a negative force. *Moral* law, by the enforcement of authority, enjoining righteous love and forbidding transgression, is a restraint upon irreligion, and upon the wickedness springing from human passion; it provokes the development of the strength of natural depravity, and begets the knowledge of sin. Says Paul: "Sin, finding occasion, wrought in me through the commandment all manner of coveting; for apart from the law sin is dead." *Ceremonial* law built a wall of partition and separation between the elect people and the Gentile world, being designed both for protection against the errors and sins of paganism, and for religious culture.

2. Law has a positive force. *Moral* law answers the question: What is the right? or, what is the wrong? It

becomes, as it is designed to be, a guide for and a support to religious life and social conduct. Presuming confidence in God and a disposition to honor His authority, moral law is regulative of the obedience which fulfills the design of Jehovah's electing love. *Ceremonial* law is the prefiguration and prophesy of the coming Messiah; cultivating confidence and hope in God.

Both purposes of the law were necessary; necessary that the elect people, by nature sinful, oppressed by the moral ignorance that sinfulness produces, and surrounded by the idolatry and superstition of pagan nations, might awake to see the light of the Messianic promise, and cultivate a righteousness of life answerable, in some degree, to the demands of divine love and the demands of man's God-likeness.

III.

The relation of God's blessing to man's obligation of obedience which addresses us from the first chapters of Genesis is prophetic of the covenant relation of Jehovah with Abraham.

And the election of Abraham's posterity to be the chosen people of Jehovah, in their relations to the mandates of the Decalogue, is prophetic of the relation between grace and law, between blessing and obligation in Christianity.

Our Lord sums up the import of the moral and the ceremonial law in two principles: love to God, and love to my neighbor. On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets.

The love of God revealed in choosing Abraham and his seed to be His peculiar people, is prophetic of the larger love of God revealed by the election of His Only-begotten Son to be the life and salvation of the world.

By the mediatorship of Jesus Christ the true relation of the blessing of God to the obligation of man, of God's love to man's obedience, is manifested and established under its final form. The only begotten Son is the Gift of all gifts. His advent conditions the possibility of the profoundest response from human personality, such as neither God's goodness in

nature or Providence, nor God's electing love toward the people of Israel was designed or was able to call forth.

The revelation of the unfathomable love of God accomplished by the words and deeds, by the self-sacrifice and victory over death, of the Mediator, originates the new obligation of man to love God with all his heart. This obligation becomes at the same time the possibility of positive response.

First in order is the coming of God in the tenderness and sympathy of mercy to a world in moral ruin. The Son of Man lives a perfectly righteous life; He fulfills the will of His Father's love in all things; He resolves death into eternal life; and overcomes the realm of darkness, bringing victory and immortality to light. Therefore the obligation follows, binding to obedience the conscience and will of every man to whom the gospel says: Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ. Therefore the invitation of grace for all nations becomes possible and necessary: Come unto Me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.

This sublime Blessing is the surety of all other needful blessings: He that spared not His own Son, but delivered Him up for us all, how shall He not also with Him freely give us all things. The sinful and unworthy are the objects of sympathy; the guilty, the objects of grace.

The Gift of all gifts freely bestowed begets the moral necessity of accepting the Gift. From this relation of mercy and grace into which, by His Incarnate Son, God has come to stand with fallen mankind, arises an obligation of faith and service which is imperative and unconditional. The objects of unfathomable love are bound to love God, 'who is most worthy of love,' as God in Christ has loved them, 'who are most unworthy.'

Of the two-fold sum of the Law, love to God and love to man, Jesus Christ is the impersonation. What the nature of divine love is we learn by the study of His self-sacrifice. What the true human love of God is and requires we learn by contemplating His perfect obedience. In Him two opposite

things are to be seen : the most perfect revelation of the nature and requirements of law, and the most perfect fulfillment of that obedience which the law unconditionally commands. Hence the Lord Jesus Christ is the concrete law, not the law written in words, but the realization of the divine will in His deeds.

Of the Edenic prohibition the ethical import is seen in His fixed aversion to all forms of wrong-doing. Of the Ten Commandments, considered positively as well as negatively, the profound spiritual requirements were brought to light by His personality, and were fulfilled by His righteous life. What the Decalogue enjoins on God's people and what it forbids, addresses us most clearly and forcibly from the realization of the Decalogue consummated by His unique history.

Being the absolute revelation of the authority of Law and at the same time the absolute fulfillment of Law, Christ becomes for us the embodiment of the relation which divine blessing sustains to human obedience, the relation which grace bears to law. From love to our fallen race, the Son of God assumes human nature into union with Himself; and human nature, by virtue of this assumption, in the person of the Son of Man is bound by divine law to and is qualified for absolute obedience. This unique truth sets before us the reciprocal connection between the gospel and the law.

He gave Himself for us and to us; therefore we are bound to give ourselves to Him. To use the words of another: "The recompense of love is to love perfectly." We love, because He first loved us. He, enthroned in Heaven, is ever active in our behalf, is ever imparting of the fulness of His life to us; therefore we are qualified and obligated to live a life after the pattern of His self-sacrifice for men, and His devotion to God.

In other words, the genius of the gospel precedes law, and conditions obligation; obedience to the authority of law fulfills the necessities of the gospel. The principle pervading the whole history of Messianic revelation that the gifts of love originate obligation, attains to its noblest embodiment and most

complete expression in the divine-human history of the ideal Man.

The obligation imposed by God by the gift of His Son incarnate is the strongest obligation. It binds the conscience of all men by the authority of a Law which is fundamental to all divine and human laws. What Hooker says of God is valid in its application to the God-man: "The being of God is a kind of law to His working; for that perfection which God is, giveth perfection to that He doeth." * In Christ the blessing of God to fallen mankind, and the obligation of responsive obedience have become one reality. Christ, the concrete gospel, has the authority of inviolable law; Christ, the concrete law, exemplifies the ethical ends of the gospel.

IV.

Jesus Christ, the perfect impersonation of the authority of law and of obedience to law, fulfills the negative and positive purposes both of the Decalogue and of the ceremonial economy. And when we accept Jesus Christ and take refuge in Him, when we follow Him, bearing His cross, and obey the new commandment to love one another as He has loved us, we fulfill the purpose of all divine laws.

Of human judgment respecting the right and the wrong, He is the criterion. His personal life is the Right in the concrete. The voluntary thoughts, words and deeds that either contravene or fail to conform to this standard are the wrong. His personality becomes the guide for the moral judgment, both of the Christian Church and of the world, on all questions.

Inasmuch as His personal history is the realization of Law, the authority of His ideal life conditions the true knowledge of sin; and the knowledge of sin conditions the genuine sense of guilt.

When Jesus Christ, the embodiment of the new commandment, reveals Himself by His Spirit, sin revives and men die. The commandment, which is unto life, 'the natural man' finds to

* Hooker's Works, Vol. I., Bk. I., Ch. 2, 2.

be unto death ; for sin, finding occasion, through the commandment beguiles him, and through it slays him. The law is holy, and righteous, and good. But sin, that it may be shown to be sin, works death to the natural man through that which is good ; that through the commandment sin may become exceeding sinful.*

From such positive knowledge of Christ, who is the absolute authority of Truth, is begotten the *μετάνοια* set forth and enjoined by the New Testament.

If the correctness of these premises be conceded, it will follow that the law-work, as it has been termed, which enters into the experience of the returning 'prodigal,' is most effectually accomplished, not by enforcing the mandatory authority of the Decalogue, much less by picturing its minatory terrors, but by proclaiming the Truth of all truths ; for than this there is no authority higher and more commanding, none that can authenticate itself with such direct, penetrating force to the conscience, being 'sharper than any two-edged sword, and piercing even to the dividing of soul and spirit.'

Our Lord honors the Ten Commandments and the ceremonial law ; but He does not recognize either as final authority. Instead, He rectifies and enlarges the traditional interpretations of the Jews.

Moreover, it deserves to be noted that Christ does not lay stress on the enforcement of the obligations of the moral law in order to move the Jews to acknowledge Him to be the Messiah. Instead, He proclaims Himself to be the fulfiller of the law, the One who is 'greater than the temple,' who is 'Lord of the Sabbath,' and the supreme Judge.

The means by which all men are to be moved to take refuge in the Son of Man is none other than Himself. "And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto myself." To Christian *μετάνοια* He, not the Decalogue, is the Motive of all motives.

* Rom. 7 : 7-13.

II.

THE RIGHT OF DISPOSAL BY TESTAMENT.

BY PROFESSOR JACOB COOPER, S.T.D., D.C.L., RUTGERS COLLEGE.

THERE has been wide diversity of opinion whether property should be disposed by Testament; and among those who admit the Right, the Mode of its exercise has been equally varied. At a time when the most carefully drawn wills and those most reasonable and beneficent in their provisions are so frequently set aside on every sort of flimsy pretext, it seems pertinent to discuss the Rights of Testamentary Disposal, and if this be grounded in nature and equity to enforce the demand that the testator's wishes be respected.

The history of opinion shows that those nations which were at any given period farthest advanced in civilization had the best defined ideas on this subject and most positive convictions in favor of the right; and that the same peoples in different ages manifested a growing recognition of this right and its bearing on their progress proportioned to their general culture and development of political justice. Accordingly, where the influence of Divine Revelation shows the most perfect civilization through the power of revealed truth in moulding ethical ideas, we find the enactments of statute law recognizing more and more fully the right of each man to bestow that which he justly holds, according to his pleasure; whether the disposition be made to take effect while he is busy in the affairs of life, or when he can have no further use of his possessions. Hence we infer that the approximation between the prevalence of the sense of Right on this subject and the most perfect culture of our race, points unmistakeably to the fact that this is grounded in our

nature, and being natural is inseparable from our highest development.

HISTORICAL OUTLINE OF THE SUBJECT.

The earliest Bill of Rights is the Mosaic Economy, and in this Legation, as we have the oldest, so, without doubt, the most perfect system of government found in antiquity. The right to dispose by Testament is both commanded as a matter of personal obligation,* and recognized as an established usage.† In fact the whole religious system of the Hebrews was largely dependent on the tenure of property and its transmission through the devise of the testator. The tribal relation, the temple worship, and the permanence of the national life, rested almost exclusively on the inviolability of testamentary bequests.

The Islamic lawgiver accepts the right of Devise as unquestioned.‡ This is because it had been an established usage among the Arabians from the earliest ages of their existence in the tribal relation. This, doubtless, had the same origin through their progenitor Ishmael that the Hebrew law had from the Abrahamic covenant. As this system of law formulated in the Qu'rân has been the rule of action for a large and cultivated part of the human race, its teaching on our subject is important, adding to the consensus its positive testimony. There we find substantially the germs of the common law on wills; and the simplicity of the Arabic practice might be profitably imitated in our own legislation.§

Among the Greeks and Romans the common law regulating Devise by Testament existed prior to the legislation of Solon and the Twelve Tables. For these are merely the formal and authoritative expression of well-established usage. For no law can approve itself to the public conscience, and gain a foothold merely by arbitrary enactment, until the need is felt, and the way prepared for it by the practice of something like it. Hence the assertion of Plutarch,|| that no devise of property was pro-

* Gen. xv. 3-4. † Gen. xxv. 5; xlviii. 42, *et passim*. ‡ Qu'rân, V. Sur, 105, Ed. Palmer. § Qu'rân IV. Sur 4-15 and 175, Ed. Palmer. || Vit. Solon.

vided for prior to the legislation of Solon, refers to the provisions of the specific code, and not to the right itself of making a Testament. For in this legislation the fact is assumed both as of right and usage prior to this time. This is evident both from the *Alcestis* of Euripides * and Sophocles' *Trachinæ*, † and many other references which might be cited. We have evidence, moreover, that antecedent to the earliest written records, this usage prevailed in the form of nuncupative wills; which, in the absence of writing, were the only kind possible. Thus Telemachus ‡ assumed the right as one firmly established to make an Ambulatory Testament. This usage, however, was reduced to system by Solon § in his code for the Athenians, which recognized and enforced the right of Devise even in cases where a man had no legitimate children. The provisions were such as the laws of nature dictate for the disposition of property, save that daughters were not allowed an equal status with sons. || But this was according to the genius of their civilization in the treatment of women who were deemed inferiors. The sons shared equally; and while their sisters had no rights by testament, except in default of brothers or their male issue, the brothers were obliged to give them dowry. In case there was no male issue the daughters inherited, but subject to restrictions which were onerous, and often unjust. ¶ For their father had power in devising to them, if devise it could be called, to interpose arbitrary conditions, compelling them to marry kinsmen of certain grades, whether this was agreeable or not; and in default of compliance they were excluded from the succession. Yet the general principle of a natural right to devise was clearly recognized by the great extent of authority allowed in making a will. For this was, in effect, unlimited; unless it could be proved that the testator had been unduly influenced in discarding those who were his heirs according to the ties of nature.

* *Alcestis*, 1020. † *Trachinæ*, 156. ‡ *Odyssey*, xvii. 79 *et seq.* § Plutarch, *Vit. Sol.* 20-21. || Grote, *Hist. Gr.*, vol. iii. 138-9. ¶ Vid. Bunsen, *De Jure Hered. Athen.*, p. 29.

This full liberty of bequest was thought productive of good by encouraging industry and the accumulation of property. For, as Plutarch says of Solon: τὰ χρήματα κτήματα τῶν ἐχόντων ἐποίησεν.* This expresses concisely the fact that no property in its complete signification can exist, unless absolute possession, which includes untrammelled right of disposal, be guaranteed.

Coming next to the Twelve Tables, we find the same right secured. The provisions of the Fifth Table were amplified and defined in the course of years until they formed one of the most extensive and intricate of all the departments of the Civil Law. There was, however, a strong spirit of opposition to the practice of making wills developed both at Athens and Rome, in consequence of its outrageous abuse; partly by the interference of legacy hunters, who unduly influenced the mind of the testator, and partly owing to the imperfection of the law touching heiresses. The former abuse grew out of the mode of life by which the master of the house was isolated from his near kindred, and consequently left at the mercy of flatterers, who by devoted attention won the confidence of him whose mind and body were failing. The latter, however, was inseparable from the inferior position of women before the law; a wrong which is so inveterate that even Christian civilization has not fully eradicated it.

The forging of wills was very common at Athens in her most flourishing era, as is clear from the Orations of Isæus, many of which were occupied with the exposure of this very crime. In truth, so rampant did the evil become that, while the right of testamentary disposal was not called in question, its abuse was so prevalent, that its exercise was looked upon by many wise men as of doubtful expediency because its true intent and power were thwarted. (*Vide* Isæus' Orations, with Sir Wm. Jones' Com., *passim*.) That the like condition of things, perhaps even aggravated, prevailed at Rome is clearly shown by the frequent reference in the satirists and comedians to tuft hunters and the forging of wills. The latter became a regular

* Vit. Sol. 21.

business, and reckoned among its practitioners many whose shrewdness equalled their villainy. Hence it became one of the chief points to which Roman legislators and civilians directed their attention, to so protect testamentary right by special safeguards that it could not be abused by forgers and legacy hunters who had become a recognized profession.* Yet the very multitude of provisions necessary to effect a valid testament became so great that it was extremely difficult to comply with the exact letter of the law, and the necessity of compliance reacted against its employment. Thus a mitigation in the strictness of the provisions became indispensable in the case of soldiers in the field. There were not a few other instances where the strictness of the letter could not be easily met, or where the surroundings of the testator made this less necessary.† When Roman civilization penetrated among the barbarous nations of northern Europe it found no legal provisions for testamentary bequest. Tacitus says, Germania XX.: *Hæredes tamen successorresque sui cuique liberi; et nullum testamentum. Si liberi non sunt, proximus gradus in possessione fratres, patrui, avunculi.* Thus the right of Devise is shown to be natural among them, being exercised in all its essential features before these were enumerated and enforced by any written code. To a much later period the same was true of Gaul and Britain. But where there was no means of writing, the power to make a will would be limited to Nuncupative; and in a rude state of society where all laws are imperfectly enforced, the exercise of devise would be called for more seldom, and, of course, less rigidly enforced. Yet, as we see, the natural course of succession was accepted; and this continued to be confirmed by usage until, with the advance in knowledge, the more accurate methods of expressing the testator's desire were discovered, and greater certainty of enforcing this was possible. Similar progress may be seen everywhere among uncivilized nations in the development of legal ideas. In the old laws of the Hindoos there is evidence of a state of things similar to that which existed

* Vide Inst. II. 10, § 4-5. Dig. 28, Tit. I., Code 6. 39, *et al.* † Digest, 29. Tit. I.

before the Legislation of Solon and the XII. Tables.* But all these cases prove no more, against the devise by Testament, than any of the clearest rights of human society. Essential and natural rights exist and gradually come into use long before they are formulated into a code.† For general laws are potential and are applied by common consent long before they are defined by the legislator, just as language is formed and used before the grammarian and the Academy publish their rules of syntax. The code of Justinian accepts the right of Devise without questioning its validity. It is there treated as a Natural Right, though like other similar ones to be regulated by the civil law. From this code the chief nations of continental Europe, and their colonies in all parts of the civilized world, have borrowed their systems, with such modifications as were suitable to the spirit of their institutions. The Feudal System interfered materially with testamentary powers. For it destroyed the right of private property by investing it in the Baron or Lord of the Manor. Here the necessity of preserving large estates intact, so as to afford the means of self-preservation in troublous times, introduced the principle of entail, which substantially destroyed the right of bequest. Yet, despite this drawback to national growth and unity, there has been a constant tendency to return to the practice of the Civil Law with its clear definition of natural right. Germany has shown her wisdom in accepting this code, and making it the foundation of her municipal and common law. France, which held on to entail with great persistence, cut loose from this together with most other inveterate corruptions, in the convulsions of the Revolution. To get rid of entail, a law was enacted permitting the devise of a part of the estate. This was a step in the right direction, but it stopped short of entire testamentary freedom. In Britain the right of devise, while fully acknowledged, is greatly interfered with by the law of the Realm, and by special applications arising from local usage. It is true that before the Conquest,

* Halhed, Preface to the Gentoo Code, p. 3. † Vid. Morey, Roman Law Int.

lands were devisable by will, yet through the introduction of military tenure at that time, the right, as applicable to real property, was for a long period practically annulled. The rigor of this system was mitigated somewhat by the Doctrine of Uses; but it was not until the Statute of Wills 32 and 34, supplemented by 35, Cap. 5, of Henry VIII., that the common law became uniform on this subject. But, while the right of Devise was accepted as an unquestioned principle of natural and statute law, still Borough Usage and Entail caused this to be one of the most perplexing parts of English jurisprudence until the Statute I. Victoria, 26, which removed all restrictions, save Entail, from the Devise of every species of property. In the United States this right is unquestioned, and as simple and nearly untrammelled as any matter of common or statute law. It is with us as clearly defined as in the Athenian code, and less intricate than in the Digest of Justinian.

This brief summary of the history shows the general tendency of opinion concerning the right of Testamentary Devise from the legislation of Moses and the other early codes down to the present time. It has been recognized from "the time whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary"; and we have seen that the freedom of Devise from restrictions has always been proportioned to the civilization of the people, and measured their progress in material prosperity.

The inquiry which constitutes our subject is next in order. Upon what is the Right of Devise founded? Is it a Natural Right, or the creature of Municipal Law?

ALLEGED BASIS OF THE RIGHT.

There is much confusion in common language in regard to what is meant by municipal rights as opposed to natural. It would be much more accurate to say that the Statute is the development of the Right, than that the Right is founded upon the Statute. For unless the Right existed either in *esse* or in *posse* no enactment looking to the good of the governed could create it. For the entire province of government is to consult

the welfare of the subject, and this can be effected only by defining and enforcing the rights which grow out of the constitution of human nature. And this becomes necessary when, in the progress of society from barbarism towards civilization—or to state the case more accurately, in the advance from simple patriarchal life among the first inhabitants of the earth to the society of the State—new relations arise, growing out of the increase of population with the multiplication of mutual interests and duties. We must not forget that the province of Law is declarative, and not creative, in the enactment of statutes. For until the relations of men show the legislation to be needful there is no occasion for the enactment of statutes; since this would be merely to express in theory what cannot yet be reduced to practice. The definition of Law: “A rule of action prescribed by a superior power,” is correct when applied to the Divine commandments. It is also true of human legislation as the expression of that power which is surrendered by the individual to a representative, who exercises it for the common good of society. But to conceive of Law as a power to create a Right, instead of being the instrument to give it expression, is as inaccurate as to assert that grammar creates language. Human law is a discovery not an invention; and its application in practice antedates its recognition in a code. Hence the obscurity surrounding the early history of any general law.* Blackstone is undoubtedly wrong when he says, Book II, Chap. I, p. 11: “It is certainly a wise and effectual, but clearly a political establishment, since the permanent right of property vested in the ancestor himself was no natural, but merely a civil right.” For man existed and both possessed and had to exercise rights before there was any civil government either to create or define them. By virtue of his creation, and endowment by the Creator with the right of eminent domain over the earth, he became possessed of as much as he could employ and control. And the rights of which he was seized he could transfer, else there could be no business intercourse. Pliny,

* ἀλλ’ αἰεὶ ποτε

ζῆ ταῦτα, κοινεῖς οἶδεν ἐξ ὅτου ῥάνη.—Soph. Antig. 456–7.

Lib. 5, Epist. 7, puts the case much better than Blackstone: *Mihi autem defuncti voluntas (vereor quam in partem I'cti quod dicturus sum accipiant) antiquior jure est.* And in accordance with this view, Grotius says: (*De Jure Nat. et Gent. II. 14*), *Quanquam enim testamentum, ut actus alii, formam certam accipere possit a jure civile, ipsa tamen ejus substantia cognita est dominio; et eo dato, juris naturalis.* Undoubtedly the right of Devise rests upon the same principle which makes valid the claim to dispose of property in any way. For if the possession of goods enables us to bestow them upon whom we please during life, then the mere approach of death does not destroy that right so long as the possessor is *compos mentis*. As Huber says:* *Naturali Juri consentaneum esse ut voluntas domini rem suam in alium transferentis sit rata. Quod si in quotidianis, ut ibi, contractibus, naturali ratione fiat, nulla ratio est cur non æque suprema morituri hominis voluntate dominia rerum transferentis abeundi jus ex potestate domini oritur, quæ in ultimo vitæ articulo non minor est quam dudum.* Quintilian had said long before:† *Potest grave fieri etiam ipsum patrimonium, si non integrum legere habet, et cum omne jus nobis in id permittatur viventibus, auferatur morientibus.* But Puffendorf, who has been followed by many writers on the philosophy of Law, is doubtful whether the right of Devise is a natural one or the creation of civil enactment. For, in referring to the opinion of Grotius (*vide supra*) he says:‡ *Circa quam assertionem non potest multum dubium moveri. Nam cum res illae quarum dominium est introductum vivis hominibus inserviant, ad mortuos autem res humanæ nihil amplius attineant; igitur non facultatem disponendi quid circa res alicujus post mortem debeat fieri.* But if this doctrine be true, the property of a dying man ceases to be owned by any person. For as his dominion ceases with his life, and he cannot transfer that dominion *mortis causâ*, it reverts to the condition of nature; and so may be appropriated by any one who comes along. For, according to the principle

* *De Jure Civitatis, Lib. IV, D. Cap. XXIX.* † Quintilian, *P. in Dec.*

‡ *De Jure Nat. et Gent. Lib. IV, Cap. 10, § 4.*

laid down in the Digest, XLI. 1, 3. *Quod enim nullius est, id ratione naturali occupanti conceditur.* This view of the cessation of dominion gave rise to the principle stated by Blackstone, II: 1, that, as a man's children or nearest relatives are most likely to be closest to his dying bed and therefore are the first to know of his death, they would step in and take possession of his estate. By doing so the usage gradually ripened into a law; as among the Germans we are told by Tacitus (Ger. XX.): *Haeredes tamen successoresque sui cuique liberi.* This, however, makes the succession depend wholly upon chance, and not upon right or any fixed principle. For the owner might die suddenly among strangers, who being near would thereby become his heirs. Or, he might die entirely alone and then no one would succeed to his estate. Violence or trickery might displace the children and other relatives in anticipation of the owner's death, and thus, by worse than highway robbery, usurp the right. This theory is absurd, and makes the right of succession wholly contingent.

A somewhat more rational theory of the right of Divise was advanced by Leibnitz,* who held that this is based on the Immortality of the Soul. *Testamenta*, says he, *mero jure nullius momenti nisi anima esset immortalis. Sed quia mortui revera adhuc vivunt, ideo manent domini rerum; quos vero haeredes relinquunt, concipiendi procuratores in rem suam.* But it is marvelous that so powerful and acute a reasoner as Leibnitz could deceive himself with this fiction. For the continued existence of a man could have no reference to his rights on earth except this were still his sphere of activity. Unless it could be made to appear that he is still present, and takes a personal share in the doings of men, his existence in an essentially different life could have no influence and no right to control that which confessedly belongs to this. For each life has its appropriate duties, and if the soul takes cognizance of what was left behind we have no means of knowing its will unless that be declared to us. But when we know the will of

* *Nova Methodos Jurisprudentiae*, Leibnitz Opera, p. 56, Ed Erdmann.

the testator while he was the owner and occupant, and while he shared in the business of life, this is a reasonable indication to guide us in the disposition of property whose entire dominion was confessedly vested in him.

THE TRUE BASIS OF THE RIGHT.

But the proof which we deem conclusive to show that a man has the natural right to say what disposition shall be made of his property after his death, is derived from the analogy which there is in the order of nature between the permanency of his actions and his wishes. This is a method of proof which, so far as our reading extends, has never been advanced by any writer on this subject. Arguments drawn from the influence which the power of Devise exerts on the character of the devisor in stimulating him to activity and virtue in the accumulation of property to be enjoyed by those whom he loves, or employed in advancing great public charities for which he has labored, and from the hope of founding a family and honorable name—these reasons are used by political philosophers to prove the expediency of the right. But they do not touch the core of the question, that is the foundation of the right in nature. Besides, they leave out of view the strongest of all arguments: the facts that a man's will, and the actions growing out of his will, do live and remain in full vigor after the death of his body. As in the natural, so in the moral world, no power is lost. It is part of a sequence of influences the end of which will never be reached until men cease to live on earth. If one man by a course of honest and well-directed industry, builds up a fortune, this remains to do a good work after his death. "He has ceased from his labors, but his works do follow him." The monuments of literature and philosophy will continue larger than the Pyramids. We justify the self-laudation of Horace.* The influence of a noble example can never be lost, whether expressed in rearing a family or moulding a state. If a man by the force of his character founds a great commonwealth, as

* *Ezegi monumentum ære perennius, Car. III, 30.*

did Peter of Russia, Alfred of England, or Washington, their wills put forth in the formative process are projected beyond the period of their natural lives, and are as efficient still as while they acted in person among their fellows. The influence of the Founder of Christianity upon the moral culture of the world, of Aristotle on subsequent philosophical speculation, or of Justinian on the administration of law, could not be ignored without blotting out the greatest part of the world's history. Nothing can be more certain than that in the case of every man who has ever lived with a purpose consecrated to the good of the world, that "he being dead yet speaketh." The formation of character by education is expected to effect its greatest influence after the death of the teacher. In short, wherever actions are the result of rational will, they carry that will beyond the life of their author as perfectly as while he moved on earth. In truth, the fact of his life or death does not of itself effect the least change on the measure of his influence, unless it be to increase this by the sense of love and gratitude which the remembrance of a benefactor deceased has upon the survivor.

Hence, whether men desire this or not, their wills, expressed in words, in character, or in material results, make themselves felt, and so are independent of all statutes. They are a part of the order of nature prevailing with the inevitable sequence of cause and effect. If, then, we see as an incontrovertible fact that the will of a deceased man is living and efficient in the order of natural law, it must be that it is a part of his constitution to influence the world by his determination as certainly after his death as while he was in the full play of personal activities. This will being inseparable from his personality as an actual fact on earth, it cannot be the creature of statute. Hence the assertion of Puffendorf is incorrect where he says, L. iv: 4, "*Deinde cum mortui rebus humanis exempti sint; impune ipsorum voluntas ac dispositio vivis adhuc facta, videbatur posse negligi.*" For this more important disposition made by their influence on society can neither be neglected nor successfully

resisted. Hence we conclude that the right of making and publishing a formal testament rests on the same sure basis, and is therefore a natural prerogative.

Proceeding from this foundation as the warrant for making a testament, we come next to the right which grows out of dominion. It has been questioned whether the right of property is a natural one or only the creature of municipal law arising from the necessities of the social compact. The divine warrant, Gen. i: 28, it has been held, conveyed only the usufruct, and did not include dominion. And, as the usufruct could only continue while a man lived, his possession must necessarily cease at his death, and the property held by him become *res nullius*. But if this were true, there could be no such thing as permanency of ownership, and the world must undergo a perpetual redistribution. If possession comprehended no more than a life lease, then all that would be necessary in order to dispossess a man of his estate would be to take his life. This is the doctrine of anarchy pure and simple, and would exactly suit thieves and murderers, who would destroy society by leveling all down to themselves. Jezebel, when she procured the stoning of Naboth, took not only the short and easy, but the lawful method of gaining possession of the coveted vineyard. The idle and vicious claim that all possession derived from honest labor of the person himself, or his progenitors, is wrong; and show that they are prevented from dispossessing the owner merely by the strength of the occupant or the arm of the law which protects him. But if possession ceased as soon as the rightful owner was dead no matter how his death was brought about, the property would fall to the occupant first on the scene—which would, of course, be the murderer. If it be said that the law must protect the possessor and punish the intruder, this would not prevent the possession ceasing as soon as the former occupant was killed; and if the murderer was punished for his crime, then, after his execution, the property lapses into a state of nature. If it be asserted that the State becomes trustee for the ownership and will see that it passes to the proper heir,

there are new difficulties which meet us. For where does the State get its claim? It is itself the creature of the people. They existed and had their rights, in *esse* at least, before they combined, and the only object of this political combination was for mutual protection, so that their essential rights may be expressed and enforced when they became potential. Hence it is clear that the State has nothing but what was given to it in the first place, and therefore can have no more dominion over the property of the citizen than he had himself. In fact, it has no power but what is delegated from necessity to make it the organ of administration for the good of the governed. This is equally true under whatever form we contemplate the State, whether under monarchy or a republic. The emperor or king, if divinely appointed, is the impersonation of right and power, not for himself or created by himself; he is the expression of those delegated forces which men, in obedience to their divinely illuminated consciences, and their sense of personal security and happiness, cause to centre in their sovereign. This is at first sight more clear in a representative government, but in its last analysis the monarchy resolves itself into the choice by which men accept as their champion that one who has protected them from wild beasts or hostile neighbors. In either case, the ruling power is the instrument by which the rights actually possessed can be most conveniently enforced.

It is plain, then, that the usufruct is not enough to constitute dominion. There must be a real ownership of property, so that one person has absolute possession of it to the exclusion of all others. But this dominion cannot exist apart from the right of transference according to the wish of the owner.* But where does this ownership rest? Is it with the State which holds the property as guardian of the occupant? This, as we have seen, cannot be, because the State is the creature of the citizens, and is made up exclusively of the powers which they delegate. If we admit that the State becomes the real owner at the time when there is a change of usufruct, that it steps in at the interregnum

* Mill, Pol. Econ., Book II., Chap. II., § 4.

as the receptacle of dominion to say whose the usufruct shall next be, and so puts a new owner in possession, then the question of expediency arises: Is it best for the interests of both parties that the State should wield this authority? One of the strongest incentives to energy and industry in the accumulation of wealth will be taken away if the right of devise be not maintained.* For he that acquires can have at best only a partial ownership. His title is not complete, because he can do as he pleases with it only for the period of his life.† He has no assurance that it will not go to persons for whom he has no regard, or for objects which he disapproves. On the other hand, the disposition cannot be so just or discriminating by the State, by any third party, as by the man himself, who knows what each heir deserves or needs, and is most likely to make a proper use of the bequest.‡ The fundamental rule of good government is to interfere as little as possible with the subject, and hence receive the smallest delegated power consistent with its proper functions; for it is a self-evident principle that each man must, on the whole, know best what is for his own welfare. And hence in all cases its authority should be declarative and executive of the natural rights of the subject, since it has been made merely the receptacle of those rights.

THE RIGHT OF DISPOSAL BY TESTAMENT.—PART II.

Holding the power of devise as an absolute natural right pertaining to each person who possesses property, and inseparable from the idea of dominion, it follows from the constitution of society that this right must be relative in its application. The same is true, however, of every one of those rights which the individual member of society possesses; for, as men are united by common interests, in order to secure protection, they must surrender a part of their liberty in every matter which concerns the common welfare. They no longer exist exclusively in their individual relations, but as members of one common body;

* Kent's Com., Pt. 6, p. 502. † Blackstone, Book 2, Chap. I. ‡ Mill, Pol. Econ., Book V., Chap. XI., § 7.

hence they must surrender as much of their personal liberty as is necessary for the welfare of the community, and must retain so much as is conducive to their own highest interests. Accordingly, while the right of testamentary devise remains intact, yet, as each person is dependent on the law regulating the community, and which must enforce his will after his death, he is under the necessity of disposing his estate in such a way as not to interfere with the well-being of that society of which he ceases to be a personal participant. This is altogether reasonable, for the law being the expression of the common conception of justice which the deceased once had a share in forming, he cannot complain if compelled to conform his particular preferences to the general will in a matter to be managed after his death, just as he was required while living by the terms of his membership in the civil compact.

RATIONAL DEVISE OF PROPERTY.

The natural disposition of property is that the possessor should devise it to his children, or in default of these to his nearest of blood. For the offspring have a claim on those who brought them into being, which is stronger than that which any other heir can offer. This, which is clearly the law of nature, is also sanctioned by Divine Revelation : " Parents should lay up for their children." * Indeed, it is a principle well established, having its roots in common sense that children should not be brought into the world without suitable provision being made for their maintenance.† So, if it is an imperative obligation that parents should, during their own lives, take care of those for whose existence they are responsible, when death deprives them of the power to fulfill this duty personally, they are bound in anticipation to provide for its continuance by the only method which is possible.

Hence children succeed as a rule to the possessions of their parents by the law of nature. This right the municipal law has always recognized as reasonable in itself, and enforced because

* 2 Cor. xii. 12.

† Mill, *Pol. Econ.*, B. II, Chap. II, §3

of its influence on the welfare of society. Hence, according to the spirit of the law, children take possession, not because they happen to be by the death-bed of the prior occupant, and know first of his decease—which facts enable them before any one else to enter upon the estate and continue the occupancy—but because by descent the natural right is inherent in them, no matter where they may be when the dominion is changed. For, as they inherit physically and morally the characteristics of their parents, so all the external possessions accrue to them by descent for reasons equally founded in nature, and which find expression in all codes taking cognizance of the true conditions of the social compact.

The natural affection of parents towards children has always been considered a sufficient safeguard in itself for the proper disposition of the estate without any interposition of the law to foster and direct it. Hence the provisions enacted by the codes of enlightened nations have been merely tutelary, to guard a principle which underlies the roots of the code itself. The legislation of Solon directed that sons should inherit the property equally; and if there were daughters also, to give each of them dowry out of the personalty. But, in case there were daughters only, while they inherited equally, yet they were required to marry according to certain specified conditions. The same provisions are found substantially in the Legation of Moses, which is the basis of all Jewish and Islamic regulations touching the inheritance of daughters. These provisions did not question their right of inheritance which was distinctly admitted, but arose from a belief in the helplessness of women to guard their own interests. This is clearly stated by Gaius * as the reason why the law had kept them under tutelage, though he disapproves of this view; and in practice woman became to a greater degree free from disabilities on account of sex. This tendency, though slow, is manifest in history; and it seems likely that at no distant day in all enlightened codes there will be entire parity between the sexes, both of right of inheritance and devise.

* Gaius' Inst., § 190.

If there were no children, the testator could leave his property to whom he pleased, according to the Athenian and Roman codes, provided there was no undue influence exerted by legacy hunters. The corrupt measures employed to secure the devise and the forgery of wills were so frequent that the evil became perilous to society. For this reason the power to devise was held by many to be productive of more evil than good. Nay, even so overwhelming became this abuse that it was held to be the great cause of corruption in morals at Athens and the ruin of the commonwealth. But this was a clear case of the logical fallacy of *non causa pro causâ*. The morals had become thoroughly depraved, else such an abuse were not possible. So at Rome the Heredipetæ were a constant subject of taunt for the satirists. (*Vid.* Hor. Sat., II : 5 ; Plin. Epist., IV : 15 ; Juvenal, XII : 95 ; Tac. Ann., XIII : 52 ; Martial, IV : 56.) But this evil become so great that it wrought its own cure in giving rise to the numerous and accurate formulæ which must be observed before a will became valid according to the code. Yet in all the efforts to prevent abuses the right of devise was not questioned, but rather a persistent determination shown to know what was the real will of the devisor. For the abuse of the right arose not from the nature of the right itself, but from the imperfection of law, inseparable from any human ordinance, and more than all from the corruption of morals which permitted a lax enforcement. Moreover, these abuses could be multiplied the more easily when the number who could write was small, and so the counterfeiting of all kinds of instruments more likely to escape detection.

This brings us to the consideration of the Testament as an acknowledged Right under the Civil Law. For here it is found in its most specific form, defined by the most accurate terms, and hedged about with the strictest safeguards that have ever been employed by any people. As an integral part of the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, itself one of the most perfect of human devices, it is well nigh complete in its scope and accuracy. The only objection to it as an embodiment of justice touching

the right of Devise is the discrimination which it makes against the female sex. Compared with the rights of men those of women under the Civil Code were very unfairly treated. This is the case both among the Romans and those who accepted the *Jus Civile* as the basis or their common law. This arose from the social position of women who occupied a helpless and dependent rank in society. What seems both strange and contrary to the spirit of the Code is that the more helpless they were, and consequently the more the aid of the law was required to maintain their rights, the less was this given by the State, and the greater room left for chance or individual caprice.

GENERAL FEATURES OF THE LAW OF TESTAMENT IN THE CORPUS.

The definition of Modestinus: *Testamentum est voluntatis nostræ justa sententia de eo quod quis post mortem suam fieri velit*,* has always been greatly admired for its neatness and accuracy. The general recognition of the right of Devise is made and its sanctions are enumerated. But the derivation of the word Testament given in the Institutes, L. II. Tit. 10, *initio*,† has been condemned by Aulus Gellius as faulty in etymology, and is now rejected. By the definition of Modestinus it follows that the devise is not to take effect until after the death of the testator. So this will can be changed as long as the testator remains in a condition to make a will at all. In the language of the *I'cti*: *Voluntas voluntaria usque mortem est*, and can be revoked at pleasure. The propriety of this privilege is obvious, since new conditions may arise so long as we live to modify the amount of the devise itself, or the claims of the recipients.

A distinction was made between *Testamenta* and *Donationes mortis causæ*. But this consisted in the time at which the change of possession occurred, and not in the nature of the cause which occasioned it. For from the nature of a will it cannot be executed until the death of the testator,‡ and would

* Dig. xxviii, Tit. 11. † Testamentum ex eo appellatur, quod testatio mentis est. ‡ Hebrews, Chap. ix. 16.

not have been made except in view of death at some future time, not necessarily imminent. Hence it is the testator's desire to retain the possession and use of his goods subject to future contingencies. But these *donationes*, which were given on the eve of a battle, or before going on a journey, or entering upon an undertaking attended with peculiar danger, were so bestowed because the donor wished the receiver to possess them in case the former died. But because the change of possession took place during the life of the devisor and so the transference could be made personally, no formalities were necessary, such as employed in making a Testament. For, in the former case, there could be no fraud or deception, because the owner must signify his wish to give the specified thing to the recipient and surrender his dominion over the property before possession could be assumed. This diversity of disposition gradually ceased, being superseded either by simple gift during the life of the owner, as in any other case of donation, or by making it a part of the testamentary devise. The latter method has become so easy through the facility of writing, by means of which the desire of the testator can be expressed in Codicils added up to the last moment of his rational action, coupled with the growing desire of disposing property while its application can be personally superintended, that *donationes mortis causæ* belong to the past history of the law.

By the fifth of the XII Tab., there was the complete recognition of the Right of Devise: UTI LEGASSET SUÆ REI, ITA JUS ESTO. The right was absolute and unrestricted for those who were in a condition to make a will. For this is so explained by Pomponius, D. 50, T. 16: *Verbis legis duodecim Tabularum his, "uti legasset suæ rei ita jus esto," latissima potestas tributa videtur, et hæredis instituendi et legata et libertates dandi, tutelas quoque constituendi; sed id interpretatione coangustatum est vel legum vel auctoritate jura constituentium.* This simple principle was afterwards developed into a three-fold form of Testament, Inst. II, Tit. 10: *Quorum altero in pace et otio utebatur quod calatis comitibus appellabant, altero quum in prælium*

exituri essent, quod procinctum dicebatur. Accessit deinde tertium genus testamentorum quod dicebatur per aes et libram; scilicet quia per emancipationem, id est imaginariam quandam venditionem agebatur, et cet. The two former methods early fell into disuse, so that the third only remained, and this not as it was at first. For the imaginary emancipation or sale was dispensed with by the prætorian edict, Inst. II, T. 10, § 2, *et seq.*, increasing the number of witnesses by two more to represent the balance holder and the purchaser. However, despite the numerous formalities demanded in making a will, as may be seen, Inst. II, T. 10, *passim*, yet in practice even these were found utterly inadequate to protect the right of Devise against the Heredipetæ; and this abuse became so great that, as we have seen, even the expediency of making a will was questioned. Legacy hunters could easily exercise undue influence upon the testator. For from the family relations, as then constituted, the husband and father was often a stranger to his wife and children. Hence there was ready access for flatterers and cunning rogues who could ingratiate themselves by a show of kind attentions to the testator in sickness or the feebleness of age; and, at the same time, poison his mind towards his nearest of kin. And when these methods did not suffice the rightful heirs were deprived of the estate through the forgery of wills, which became an acknowledged calling, just as much as the professional poisoner or blackmailer.* But while this abuse was admitted and deplored by satirists and statesmen, the right itself was not questioned. Only the perversion was held up to execration, just as all abuses which marked the decadence of morality.

The Military Testament, or *In Procinctu*, which was highly necessary among a martial people, from the nature of the case was attended with less formality than those regularly legalized, and therefore gave greater opportunity for fraud. For, in order to show favor to the soldier and meet the necessities of his position, nearly every formality was dispensed with in the camp, Inst. II, T. 11: *Quoque enim modo voluntatis ejus (scil*

* Pliny, Epist. II. 20.

militis) *suprema inveniatur sive scripta sive sine scriptura, valet testamentum ex voluntate ejus*. But the evil from forgery and undue influence exerted on the sick and aged had the effect of abridging the freedom of devise, and gave occasion for the *Leges Furia*,* *Voconia*,† and *Falcidia*.‡ For while the civil law still distinctly recognized the right of devise, yet the idea that this power should generally be limited to the disposal to natural heirs was both reasonable, and in accordance with traditional usage before the abuse of the *Heredipetæ* became rife.

Still, that the aim of the law was always to discover the true will of the testator, can be seen in the provisions which guard its exercise. "But, as certain persons are incapable of rational volition, which is the prime condition of devise, the making of a Testament is for them impossible. For if they have not the natural intelligence which is necessary to constitute a responsible person in law, it would be absurd for that law to be called upon to execute their wills." Vid. Inst. II, T. 12; Dig. 28, T. I, § 2, 17. Hence a person who is *non compos mentis*, either from natural imbecility or madness, is incapable of making a devise.§ But temporary madness incapacitates only for the time of its continuance, and hence if the will is made during a lucid period it is valid, though of course there is some uncertainty about such instruments, and they are open to litigation in order to determine the fact of sanity. It is clear that the subsequent recovery of the testator cannot render valid the instrument made when he was *non compos*.|| So also children, under a certain age, usually fixed by law at fourteen for males and twelve for females, could not devise, because, from their immaturity of judgment and liability to be influenced, they cannot be said to have a will of their own.

A married woman was excluded from exercising this right because she was strictly under the power of her husband. This was especially the case under the Roman law, where her legal subjection—*sub manum*—was complete; and also among the

* Gaius, I. 42-46. † Cic. in Verr. 2, 1, 42. ‡ Inst. II, Tit. 22. § Inst. II. 12. || Inst. II. 12; Dig. 28, 1, 5, 6.

modern nations of Europe the *femme couverte* is not considered to have the power of independent volition.* A captive in the hands of the enemy was deemed incompetent, for the obvious reason that he is not *possessor sui*, and therefore can be constrained to act as his master dictates. The reasons for all these provisions are self-evident, because they interfere with the power of independent action, without which there can be no definite expression of the devisor's will.† The regulation touching bodily sickness, as distinguished from mental weakness, shows the true intent of the law. For as no amount of physical infirmity hinders the exercise of testamentary power, provided the mind is rational, the purpose of the law is clearly seen in the almost universal formula: "Weak in body, but sound in mind." This grew into such extensive use that it was often employed by those who made their wills while in perfect health, and at length came to be considered a necessary introduction.

The general disfavor towards Nuncupative Wills, shown in every stage of the law's development, does not question the testator's right to devise in this way, but proves the conviction that a will thus made is liable to both fraudulent and accidental mistakes. Hence when writing became universal for all kinds of business, there was no adequate reason for risking this danger of fraud. When writing was the privilege of the few, provision must be made for such testaments.‡ For the law consults the good of those by whose authority it is enacted, and therefore can ask for no greater precision in making known the testator's intention than his culture and surroundings allow. At common law a Court of Chancery might possibly still sustain a Nuncupative will, provided there was clear corroborative proof of its intent and provisions. In Britain, by statute of I. Vic. 26, these are not valid; and the course of legal practice is now so strongly against them everywhere that they are seldom offered for probate.

The provisions so carefully guarded for the enactment and

* Inst. II, 12, 5; Dig. 28, 1, 8. † Dig. 28, T. 1, 2. ‡ Inst. II, 10, § 4.

interpretation of wills show that the primary purpose of the law is to discover the real intention of the testator, and when this is known, to enforce it by all the powers of the State.

The last part of this subject is the Limitation of the Right of Devise. Like every other right of man in society, while its nature as affecting the individual alone is absolute, yet when applied to him as a member of a political body, it necessarily becomes limited by his relations to others; yet in this, as in all other cases, that government which interferes least with the liberty of the subject that is consistent with the rights of all, undoubtedly performs its functions best. Hence interferences, when they do occur, should always be for the protection of the citizen in his natural rights against encroachments from others, and for his defence against his own mistakes or ignorance. The limitations of this particular right by law present themselves under two forms, viz.: Power of the testator to alienate from his family; and Enforcement of his will as to the use to be made of his bequest.

The Mosaic law, and that of all countries where primogeniture prevails, holds substantially that the power of bequest is limited to the transference within the family of the testator. Plato held the same view.* Feudal and aristocratic governments consider this necessary to their existence; for the power of the family must be maintained, and in order to do this the estate must remain intact in its possession. Commonwealths and republics, on the other hand, give greater freedom to the power of bequest. The feudal system, which moulded modern European society, rendered entail necessary, since if estates were not held together, their proprietors would not be able to defend themselves in that unsettled period which succeeded the dissolution of the Roman Empire. And after all occasion for the practice had ceased, the usage had become so thoroughly engrafted on the parent stock of the civil code that it has obstinately held its own against the reaction toward the Roman freedom of bequest. The limitations which the civil law fixed were made to prevent supposi-

* De Legg, XI.

titious wills and the tricks of the Hereditipæ. By the laws of the Twelve Tables (Table V), as we have seen, the right of devise was unlimited. Then the Lex Furia, A. U. C. 570, estimated the amount which could be alienated from the legal heir at 1000 æs; while the Lex Voconia, A. U. C. 584, prohibited more than half the estate from alienation. Finally, the Lex Falcidia was enacted in these words:* “*Lata est Lex Falcidia quâ cavetur ne plus legare liceat quam dodrantem totorum bonorum, id est sive unus hæres institutus esset sive plures, apud cum eosve pars quarta remaneret.*” This law was further defined and supplemented by Justinian, who in the Eighteenth Novel gave an exhaustive interpretation of the principles involved. His preface contains the substance:† “*Ut legitima portio liberorum, si quatuor sunt liberi, quatuor unciae, si vero plures quam quatuor sunt liberi, sex unciae sint; et ut liberi naturales, sobole legitima non existente, ab intestato duas uncias cum matre accipiant, et ut tam ex testamento collatio compelat nisi testator expresse prohibeat,*” etc. These limitations were undoubtedly beneficial, because they met an evil then existing, and in their increasing particularity we can trace the history of the growing abuse they were intended to counteract; but the same limitations become hurtful when applied in a state of society where the evils they aimed at do not exist. The limitations by entail, for example, rendered necessary by Mosaic tribal division, the aristocracy of Sparta and the Platonic Republic, reappear again in the Feudal System as a necessary element of that form of polity. But for quiet times and free governments the limitation by entail cannot but be hurtful. For the retention of an estate in a fixed line of succession is fraught with numberless evils, a few only of which can be specified here.‡ The heir, being absolutely determined even before birth, in due time receives the property whether deserving or not; and by the certainty of possession is exempted from the wholesome fear of being disinherited for misconduct, as well as the natural incitements to energy and industry. The

* Inst. II., 22. † XVIII. Nov. Proem. ‡ See Edinburgh Rev., July, 1824, p. 356.

other children, or rightful heirs, are despoiled of their rights, to enrich a single one to a needless extent. A hereditary aristocracy is thus created, irresponsible to the State, because in the main superior to the law by which others are governed, and so out of sympathy with the great mass of the people. The House of Lords in England at the present time, and the hereditary nobility in France prior to the Revolution, are notable examples of an estate which is useless in itself, and, by the vicious lives of its members, a disgrace to morals and a dead weight to progress. The property itself, being tied up by irrevocable conditions made in ignorance of its subsequent capacities or requirements, is kept in an unproductive state; it is subjected to the disadvantages of being sometimes possessed by one who cannot properly manage it, but must needs keep it, whether profitable to him or not. So strongly have the evils of this singular system been felt in France that a radical change was made by the Revolution. In order to destroy the aristocracy, whose vices and excesses had done so much to bring about that great upheaval of society, the law of equal partition was made, and it was declared illegal to alienate the entire estate to the detriment of the natural heirs. So beneficial did these innovations prove that they were embodied in the Code Napoleon: * “*Les libéralités soit par actes entre vifs, soit par testament, ne pourront excéder la moitié des biens du disposant s’il laisse à son décès qu’un enfant légitime; le tiers s’il laisse deux enfants; le quart s’il laisse trois ou un plus grand nombre.*”

The injustice and impolicy of entail are felt so strongly in Britain that there has been a vociferous cry for redress. Even such conservative writers as Adam Smith,† and McCulloch,‡ who approve of the right of primogeniture, still cannot but feel that entail is a most serious drawback to social progress. More radical publicists, like Bentham, Mill,§ and Gladstone, have labored for the suppression of the rights of entail and primogeniture altogether. While descent is manifestly the natural

* C. N., 915. † Pol. Econ., p. 170. ‡ Pol. Econ., Notes, p. 559. § Pol. Econ., B. 5, chap. 9, § 4.

course for property to take, still the interference of the law to compel the possessions of intestates or impuberes to follow this course is both unjust and injurious. For it often occurs that the parents are needy and helpless, and in such a case any child possessing natural affection would be quite as desirous to provide for their wants as parents are for their children. Hence the interference of the law in obstructing this dictate of reason and affection is manifestly unjust. The Praetors sometimes* relieved such cases by special acts, but this sort of relief being precarious, something more certain in its application is necessary. Modern jurisprudence has a tendency to correct the evil, so that, with the general freedom of bequest which advancing morality inculcates, the hardship of leaving a parent unprovided for is mostly confined to cases of intestacy. The law of nature, as well as filial affection, points to the duty of supporting during the feebleness of second childhood those who have cared for us in infancy. This being a dictate of universal morality, it must sweep away all enactments of statute law which interfere with the desire to care for parents when they need our help.

The equality of the sexes before the law, which universal progress is making more and more clear, tends to remove the last barrier to the complete exercise of the right of devise. And here it is clear that the dependence of the female, so far from being a reason that she should not inherit equally with the other sex, points to the necessity of her receiving a larger portion. So the interference of the law in preventing a woman from inheriting equally because she holds a subordinate position, is founded upon wrong ideas about the constitution of society.

One of the most perplexing questions, and one which has given rise to litigation in which the will of the testator is most frequently disregarded, is the right to make a bequest to a corporation coupled with conditions as to its application. That one man has a right to make a gift to another coupled with con-

* Sir Wm. Jones, *Com. in Jaram.*

ditions which, if not complied with, make the donation void, will not be questioned. These conditions may be of any sort whatever not involving contradiction or absurdity, and their lawfulness is recognized, provided the recipient takes the gift subject to the restrictions. The donee can, of course, refuse the gift, and cannot be compelled to accept it. But if he does, knowing all the conditions, he is morally as well as legally bound to comply with the provisions subject to which the gift was received. The same rights appertain to legacies left by testament as to gifts *inter vivos*, with the addition that there is a peculiar sanctity attached to the last request of one who is no longer among men. While the giver was alive he had the power to enforce the application according to the terms by which it was made a donation. When dead, then the law steps in to enforce his trust; and if it was right for him to demand the fulfillment of his will at one time, the government, which is his creature and for that reason his servant, so far as he acts according to its provisions, is bound to enforce his expressed desire at every subsequent period. For if the conditions are not complied with, then the donation is, *per se*, revoked; and it is only an act of violence and robbery, both to the donor and to the law under which it was bestowed, so long as the lawless possession is continued.

In the case of property left to persons, it is understood that each successive owner will have, not merely usufruct, but dominion; and hence the right to dispose of the thing itself subject only to such new conditions as arise out of the changed relations of successors. For this reason it is not usual, except in the case of entail, the nature of which has been noticed, to bind the successors beyond the life of the next following inheritor. Conditions extending further than this are viewed by the law with disfavor, because they interfere with the full right of devise, which, in order to be complete, must carry with it dominion, and this reside in each successive generation of owners. But in the case of eleemosynary or religious corporations an entirely different principle obtains. For here is a

corporate body, with a strictly defined character set forth by a written constitution and by-laws, but which cannot as an individual possess any voluntary powers of devise. Hence any gift made to such a body is conveyed under the expressed conditions that it shall be used for the purposes which are set forth by the recipient, and for no other objects or uses whatever. By probate of the will containing these provisions the law makes a contract, in which it binds itself to enforce the will of the testator. Unless there are powers of alienation or changes of object allowed in the terms of the devise, the contract between the donor and the body accepting the gift is a matter of strict literal interpretation. The law is often called to interfere for maintaining the validity of a will making a gift to corporations, and is usually jealous in supporting the rights of the heirs by blood against them. But if the testator's soundness of mind and mature purpose of gift are proven, the devise should certainly be enforced in its terms, inasmuch as there is a contract made by the law. This principle is covered by the decision of the Supreme Court in the celebrated Dartmouth College case, and may be considered as established theoretically in the policy of this country. The only exception which should be allowed is where there is a manifest and unfounded disregard of the claims of the family, and this should prevent the will from being admitted to probate. But the claim of the corporation rests upon its application, in good faith, of the legacy to the purposes for which the testator intended his bequest. It is clear that no action could be maintained by a corporation which changed its objects between the time of the devise and the execution of the testaments. So, from this well-established principle it follows that there is a contract, on the part of the corporation also, to apply the trust to the purposes expressed by the donor in his deed of gift; and when this contract is violated by the recipient the legacy lapses thereby and reverts to the possession of the legitimate heirs of the deceased. There need be no difficulty in a case where but little time has elapsed, but length of undisturbed possession is understood to give pre-

scriptive right of dominion. Yet possession for uses specified in the devise do not give prescriptive right for uses *contrary* to the terms and intent of the devise; so that really no lapse of time between the date of the gift and the perversion of its object is a reason to debar the heir-at-law from recovery. The possession for uses contrary to the stipulations is simply robbery and retention of stolen goods; and hence ouster of the wrongful occupant becomes the highest duty of the law.

Legacies bestowed upon hospitals and asylums intended for the relief of physical suffering present no difficulties. The conditions remain the same, and therefore the application of the charity cannot be mistaken. But in the case of foundations for religious orders, for colleges and universities, where specific doctrines are to be taught, great difficulties arise from the change of religious views in successive generations of recipients. It has been held by Mill,* that no condition requiring certain doctrines to be taught for an indefinite time should be valid in law, because no one can tell what will be held as the orthodox view many ages hence. If the law would refuse to probate a will with such conditions, then it would act consistently; but when it accepts the instrument, and thereby promises to execute its provisions, a positive contract is made which cannot be annulled according to the principle involved in the Dartmouth case. And while we hold that it is a gross mistake to assert that no one can anticipate what religious views will be proper to be taught, since truth is unchangeable and the will of God is as abiding as His own nature, still the question at issue is different from what Mill and similar theorists hold. For the true contention is not whether such and such doctrines should be taught, but whether a man has a right to give, and a corporation to receive, money for teaching them. If he has not the right to give for this purpose the corporation has not the right to receive, and the question is settled at once. The law is the transgressor in permitting the testament to be ratified. It is false to its trust as the guardian of society in failing to protect

* Pol. Econ., B. II., Chap. II., § 4.


its interests. For the law must not profess to enforce the will of a man unless it was right and proper for him to make it. But surely, after he has died and is no longer present to redress his own wrongs, the law cannot relieve itself of responsibility by pleading the illegality of a bequest which it once admitted to be lawful. The law, as observed before, can refuse to accept a will made with such provisions, and, perhaps, by so doing would not exceed its delegated powers. But it is too late, after having once undertaken to maintain the will, to say that this must not be enforced because another generation entertains views different from those of the testator. As well say that because at one time agrarian laws, or a community of goods is advocated by the dominant party in a state, therefore the rich must be despoiled of the fruits of their industry to feed the idle and vicious. It would be no greater injustice to force living men to give money to support a view of religion deemed by themselves radically heretical, than it is to wrest the property of a deceased person, who consecrated it for teaching that view of religion which he believed to be true, and apply it to support that system which he considered false. The propriety of making a devise with conditions applying to a state of facts which cannot be foreseen may well be entertained on the part of the testator. It is doubtless best not to hamper a legacy with many and intricate conditions. But this is saying no more than what is applicable to any gift or alienation *inter vivos*. Yet this is wholly different from deciding what religious truths must be taught in order to determine the validity of a will. Besides, religious truths do not change, though those placed to teach them at a particular place do and pervert the doctrines they were appointed to maintain. Church polity may change, the established order of worship may be modified, yet this does not affect the cardinal doctrines of Revealed Religion. Hence, an honest enforcement of a clearly expressed will bestowing a legacy for teaching these doctrines is easy, when the courts look to law and justice. The trouble is not to know what was in the testator's mind to do nor the doctrines which he intended

to be taught, but an unwillingness to resist the clamors of a changed public opinion. Questions of interpretation of the testator's meaning, or the belief held by the corporation, may arise and require settlement by a Court of Equity; but this is no more than occurs in any other application of abstract justice to the complicated affairs of life. There are other cases which arise, when the state makes conquests of territory in which a sacred trust is held by a government where different religious views prevail. Then the rights of such foundations must be on a par with the rights of private property, to be determined by the will of the conqueror. So, also, when there is a general reformation in doctrine and practice, as that of Luther in Germany, and the Reformers in England. Then the condition of church and university foundations must depend upon the changed relations of state which control them if they are governmental institutions; but if they are under sectarian control, then the law of the land should still enforce their application to the uses expressed in the devise. For charitable and educational bequests should be encouraged by every legitimate means, since they stimulate the highest of human motives to industry and energy in business; and by the uses of wealth thus gained elevate the standard of culture and morals among a people. And nothing can be a greater incentive to testamentary bequests to corporations than the absolute certainty that the law will enforce their application to the objects intended by the donors. But who will exert himself to acquire means beyond the uses which personal comfort, or the requirements of his family demand, if he has no assurance that his earnings will be applied according to his best judgment after they have left his care, whether that be during his life, or afterward? Herein the law appears as the creature of the social compact to enforce the rights which are natural to man and necessarily developed by his relations to society; rights as indispensable to his spiritual being as air and food to his living body.

Hence the chief end of government is attained just in proportion as it interferes not to obstruct, but to enforce, the will of

the people; of which, as the expression of the true relation of man to his Creator, it may be truly said: *Vox populi, vox Dei.*

There is a strong demand for greater certainty that the law will enforce the plain intent of testamentary bequest. There is nothing more discouraging in the present administration of justice than the facility with which the plainest intent of the testator is perverted. We have a notable example of this in the case of Mr. Tilden, who determined to bestow a princely benefaction for the good of that city where he had amassed his fortune. With a knowledge of law and a sagacity scarcely equalled, he drew a will in which, after devising liberally for all who had claims upon him, he provided for a great public library which should be a blessing to the community, and a memorial of himself for all time. His intention was evident. His desire most praiseworthy. The terms of his will as exact as human ingenuity could make them. But the courts, instead of being the guardian of a most solemn trust for the good of mankind, rob the dead by a quibble equally dishonorable to their honesty or their intelligence. The intended charity is perverted from the will of the donor, and bestowed where it is not needed; and where, from the manifested character of the recipients, it will do no good. Such miscarriages of justice prevent the exercise of charity by those who have the means, while discouraging such traits of character as render charity possible. It is natural that any man who has shown himself capable of amassing a fortune should desire to hold it while he is in active life, because he is justified in believing he can manage it better than any one else. Hence he retains it in his own possession in the reasonable hope that he will still make it greater and capable of wider good. But the uncertainty of the law in the enforcement of an undisputed right of free devise, has grown to be an evil almost equal to the forging of wills during the Roman decadence. It calls loudly for a reformation in our code of practice; so that a will fairly drawn by a man who has shown himself capable of gaining and managing the estate which he devises, shall be as certain as the warrantee deed which the state gives



to the purchaser of land from its domain. But if the bulk of the estate is to be eaten up by rapacious lawyers, and the pitance that remains after every exorbitant charge of litigation, needlessly prolonged, is to be perverted from the testator's evident intention, there is little incentive left for that self-denying virtue which is the foundation of all wealth, and the means of all charity.

From the subject, as here considered, it is contended :

I. That Testamentary Devise is both a Natural Right and inseparable from our relations in Civil Society.

II. That it is inherent in the Right of Dominion, and a necessary element of Individual Property.

III. That while absolute in itself, like all other Natural Rights, it is limited in its application by the relations of Society.

IV. That the Limitations of the Right by Civil and Statute Laws should be multiplied no farther than those for the protection of the individual which are suggested by the combined wisdom of his fellow-men.

V. That the History of this subject points to an unvarying recognition of the Right of Testamentary bequest increasing in clearness in exact ratio to the progress of intelligence and virtue.

VI. That the strict enforcement of this Right is one of the most efficient stimuli to virtuous activity.

VII. That laxity in the enforcement of the fair intention of the testator is, at the present time, a marked evil of our legal practice, and most discouraging to those who are able and desire to foster our Public Charities.

III.

THE SPIRIT OF THE ORIENT.

BY REV. J. H. DUBBS, D.D.

IN an address delivered some years ago before the Liverpool Institute the Hon. George J. Goschen, a member of the British Cabinet, ventured the remarkable assertion, that it was lack of imagination that cost Great Britain her North American colonies. "Statesmen," he says, "were not able to sympathize with, or to throw themselves into the position of these colonies; they could not represent to themselves absent things; and supposed that England, with what they had learned there, must be sufficient for their guidance in the discharge of their imperial duties." That there is much truth in this remarkable confession can hardly be doubted. It is a precious thing to be able to sympathize with other times and conditions; to understand the men and women of other countries; to enjoy in the midst of our monotonous lives the intense pleasure of mental change of scene. We are in constant danger—indeed, it is said to be the chief danger of our age and nation—of growing narrow-minded; of supposing that because our way is a good way it must be the only true way; of feeling and expressing contempt for those whose thoughts and sentiments are different from our own, and thus becoming vain, self-satisfied, modern Philistines. To elevate us above these depressing conditions, we conceive to be the main purpose of the study of history. Surely, it must be a glorious thing to rise above our narrow surroundings; to fill out our necessarily stunted careers; to open up vistas of other worlds; to glorify our lives.

That such study is of practical value goes without saying.

If Lord North and his cabinet had been able for the moment to put themselves in the place of the American colonists, they might, as Mr. Goschen intimates, have known how to avoid the difficulties which led to the disruption of the British empire.

We may, perhaps, advance a step further and assert our conviction that the more distant the scene to which the imagination transports us, the more intense becomes the delight—the more excellent the mental development which the journey conveys. If we had the magic tapestry of Prince Houassin to bear us whither we would, should we not, therefore, take our flight to the distant Orient, the land which is as different as possible from our own, where fancy runs riot, and the wildest dreams of poesy become actual realities. To many of us, indeed, these visions of the Orient are as vague and misleading as the mirage of Sahara. Possibly they consist of half-unconscious reminiscences of those wonderful stories, *The Arabian Nights*, which provide for childhood so many of its most intense delights. Have we not been companions of the recent Laureate in his wonderful voyage:

“ When the breeze of a joyful dawn blew free
In the silken sail of infancy,
The tide of time flowed back with me—
The forward flowing tide of time;
And many a sheeny summer morn,
Adown the Tigris I was borne,
By Bagdad's shrines of fretted gold,
High-walled gardens green and old;
True Musselman was I and sworn,
For it was in the golden prime
Of good Haroun Alraschid.”

Is it possible to commune with the spirit of the Orient? Can the great genius who spreads his gigantic form over sea and land be induced to re-enter the vessel that is stamped with the seal of Solomon? How far, indeed, does the Orient extend? The question may be differently answered. Religious writers have often limited the term to Palestine, the land which must forever remain to Christian faith the Orient, made glorious

by the rising of the Sun of Righteousness. Literature until recently recognized it as synonymous with the land of the Mohammedans; but since "far Cathay" and "the land of the rising sun" have been opened to our vision, the conception has been vastly extended. Perhaps, for our present purpose, it may be well to follow the Greek geographers in dividing the old world into two parts only—Europe and the East; for if the essayist is not at liberty to select a theme which can be elaborated with some degree of minuteness, it is perhaps best to choose a subject of such exceeding vastness that special investigation cannot possibly be expected.

If we limit our studies to a portion, however small, of these great eastern lands, there will be much to describe; but in the regions that stretch far away from the Hellespont to the Yellow sea, there are many nations, many languages, many religions, and the peculiarities which they have in common are so few in number that our task is actually diminished by the extent of its theme.

That the Orient has a spirit of its own, as distinguished from the Occident, has never been called into question. Its influence is felt even in eastern Europe, but grows more perceptible as we journey through Asia, until it becomes all-pervading in the remotest East. It is subtle, intangible, incomprehensible; but its manifestations are everywhere apparent. They are so peculiar and distinctive that we may regard them as characteristic of the spirit itself.

Travelers agree that the earliest impressions of the visitor to the Orient is one of curious unreality. To observe how the world appears transversed is almost comical. If men in Oriental lands do not actually stand on their heads, as students of primary geography are apt to suppose, their views are at least so contrary to our own that we should not be surprised to find them assuming some such unusual position. Every domestic art, every social custom, is practiced in a manner directly opposite to that with which we are familiar. That the people speak backwards, write backwards, read backwards, is

but the beginning of their contrary ways. We know and expect these things, of course; but when we come into actual contact with them, we grow indignant, and are ready to protest against such flagrant violations of established order. Even those of us who have studied Semitic languages can rarely get entirely beyond the feeling that the direction of Oriental writing is unnatural, and can sympathize with the bookseller who catalogued a Hebrew Bible as "a book whose end is the beginning."

It seems a paradox to say that almost simultaneously with the impression that everything is topsy-turvy, the traveler in the Orient is made to feel that all things are immutable. For thousands of years there seems to have been no important change. There are cities there which are older than written history, and temples that were ancient when western Europe was still inhabited by painted savages. "The people are even less changed than the countries they inhabit. The fertile vale of Siddim has been replaced by the Dead Sea, and the delta of the Nile has pressed forward into the bosom of the Mediterranean; but the patriarch still sits at the door of his tent on the Plain of Mamre, and the Egyptian cultivates his river-given soil in the manner practiced by the subjects of the Pharaohs. While we look upon the very scenes where Paradise was Lost and Regained—where the Pyramids and Karnac rose and still vindicate their early fame—we find *that* scenery still peopled by the Ishmaelite, and the stranger still received by sheikhs of Abraham's fashion, who feast him on the fare that was set before the angels."*

It is not until the stranger has become to some extent acquainted with the people of the East that he discovers that the ground of all this is to be looked for in a certain condition of the Oriental mind. There is everywhere a conspicuous lack of individuality. Man, from a western point of view, has not attained to clear self-consciousness. Unless he has been lifted by external conditions above the level of the multitude he has no ambition. He is rather inclined, like the cobbler in the

* Warburton's *Cross and Crescent*.

Arabian tale, to thank God that he is not grand vizier. "For, as long as I keep pegging away at shoes, the Sultan will not cut off my head, bismillah!"

Here we have one of the most distinguishing characteristics of the East. A recent writer says: "If we take, through the earth's north temperate zone, a belt of country whose northern and southern edges are determined by certain limiting isotherms, not more than half the width of the zone apart, we shall find that we have included in a relatively small extent of surface almost all the nations of note in the world, past or present. Now if we examine this belt, and compare the different parts of it with one another, we shall be struck by a remarkable fact. *The peoples inhabiting it grow steadily more personal as we go west.* So unmistakable is this gradation that one is almost tempted to ascribe it to cosmical rather than to human causes. It is as marked as the change in color of the human complexion along any meridian, which ranges from black at the equator to blonde toward the pole. In like manner the sense of self grows more intense as we follow in the wake of the setting sun, and fades steadily as we advance into the dawn. America, Europe, the Levant, India, Japan, each is less personal than the one before. We stand at the nearer end of the scale, the Far Orientals at the other. If with us the I seems to be of the very essence of the soul, then the soul of the far East may be said to be Impersonality." *

This mental condition is everywhere apparent, less decidedly than elsewhere in Persia, where the Aryan element is strongest; but even in the literature of Iran, as it has been rendered for us by Baron von Hammer-Purgstall, the same spirit appears. Thus the dervish poet, Nimpetolah, of Kuhistan, declared his conviction as follows:

"Ask me not, as mufis can,
To recite the Alcoran;
Well I know the meaning sweet—
The book I tread beneath my feet.

* Lowell's *Soul of the Far East*, p. 14.

Lo! the God's love blazes higher,
Till all difference expire,
What are Moslems? what are Giaours,
All are one, and all is ours."

And again, of all places, we find it in Hilali's ode to a flute :

"Hear what, now loud, now low, the pining flute complains,
Without tongue, yellow-cheeked, full of winds that wail and sigh,
Saying, sweetheart, the old mystery remains,
If I am I, thou thou, or thou art I."

Poor fellow! He was not certain whether he was she, or she he, or whether, in fact, "it was neither of them."

The Oriental muses rather than thinks; and as he cannot solve the problems of existence, he reaches at best the consciousness of an all-pervading mystery. He has a profound sympathy with nature and delights in portraying its varied forms. With great leisure and few books he is exquisitely sensible to the pleasures of poetry. Layard gives the following incident as an illustration of the effect of *extempore* poetry on the children of the desert, which might as well have occurred in other regions of the Orient:

"When the bard improvised an amatory ditty," he says, "the young chief's excitement was almost beyond control. The other Bedouins were scarcely less moved by these rude measures, which have the same kind of effect on the wild tribes of the Persian mountains. Such verses, chanted by their self-taught poets, or by the girls of their encampment, will drive warriors to the combat, fearless of death, or prove an ample reward, on their return from the dangers of the *ghazon*, or the fight. The excitement they produce exceeds that of the grape. He who would understand the influence of the Homeric ballads in the heroic ages should witness the effect which similar compositions have upon the wild nomads of the East." Elsewhere he adds, "Poetry and flowers are the wine and spirits of the Arab; a couplet is equal to a bottle, and a rose to a dram, without the evil effect of either."

Life in the East is short, and often fierce and hazardous in

its extremes. "Its elements are few and simple, not exhibiting the long range of occidental existence, but rapidly reaching the best and the worst." The rich feeds on fruit and game—the poor on carobs, or something worse. But what does it matter whether your life is long or short, whether you are rich or poor—a sultan or a calendar? In India it is *karma*, in Arabia it is *kismet*.

The Oriental is brave, because life has little value. He endures pain with patience, but seems hardly conscious of intense torture. It has been said that the Oriental is sure "to kiss the hand that smites him, if only it smites hard enough." He has no conception of personal or civil liberty, but is easily moved to enthusiasm by ideas which to us appear remote from daily life. Think of the Christian boys of Alexandria fighting pitched battles, as Dean Stanley tells us, on such a question as whether Christ's will is only divine or human also. Ordinarily hard to move, an epigram, a ringing battle-cry, may in the Orient rouse a multitude to intense excitement, and its power, when directed by a master mind, is almost irresistible. The elements of social life are few in number. "The prolific sun and the sudden and rank plenty which his heat engenders, make subsistence easy. On the other hand, the desert, the simoom, the mirage, the lion and the plague endanger it, and life often hangs on the contingency of a skin of water, more or less." Even the geography of the Orient exhibits these contrasts. "My father's empire," said Cyrus to Xenophon, "is so large that people perish with cold at one extremity whilst they are suffocated with heat at the other." The temperament of the people agrees with these extremes, and, as might be expected, Oriental characteristics are practically innumerable. In the Arabian tale, the life of the heroine depends on her success in picking up all the seeds of a pomegranate which lie scattered on the ground, and the one which she fails to find is suddenly transformed into some terrible *chimera*. To guard against a similar result may we say that our present purpose is not completeness, but having indicated the existence of a Spirit

of the Orient, by enumerating a few of its characteristics, to proceed to the contemplation of its constituent elements.

Leaving subsidiary causes for the present out of the question, we may venture to declare, with Warburton, that "the chief source of Oriental culture is religion." It will, therefore, be found, on closer investigation, that the great religions of the East contain elements which naturally develop into the peculiarities which we have attempted to portray. It is a curious fact that not one of these religions has remained entirely, or even in great part, the possession of the race that produced it. Brahminism and Buddhism are of Aryan origin; but they have passed beyond their original seats and are now in great part the religions of the Turanian races. Christianity, on the other hand, is one of the Semitic religions; but it has in great degree lost its hold upon the lands which gave it birth, and the majority of its professors are of the Aryan race. Its course has been towards the West, where its lessons of individuality and of the value of the human soul are more readily appreciated. The oracles which were at first committed to Israel, have by its means become a source of unnumbered blessings to all the regions that stretch towards the setting sun. Between the remote East and the active, bustling West, we find, not unexpectedly, a religion whose adherents seem to be only half awake; a religion which is not original, but whose name—Islam, or rest in God—indicates the feature which is most attractive to the Oriental mind.

The great religions of the East present innumerable illustrations of our theme. Brahmanism has been called the most ancient of human religions, but it is doubtful if in any proper sense it deserves to be called a religion. The Pantheistic doctrine which forms its foundation recognizes a contrast between rest and motion, but not between good and evil. In the *Rigveda* there is a certain acknowledgment of a supreme being—the brahm or breathing-soul—but even there we find the beginning of a compromise with popular sentiment which regarded the grand and striking phenomena of nature in the light

of personal conscious beings. Nowhere, except perhaps in ancient Egypt, is the contrast between *esoteric* and *exoteric* doctrine more plainly apparent. The *deva*, or shining ones, may at first have been symbols only, but their worship soon degenerated into rank idolatry. There may be something fascinating in the Hindoo triad—Brahma, the Creator; Vishnu, the preserver; and Siva, the destroyer—but when we find it multiplied into the thirty thousand deities of the modern Hindoo pantheon, with their varying and often conflicting cults, the subject loses its interest and pity takes the places of sympathy.

Orthodox Brahmanism, as well as Buddhism, regards all existence as pain, and looks forward to deliverance by absorption into the divine essence. Man is a bubble on the ocean—the bubble bursts, but a similar one is at hand to take its place. Those whose minds are entirely abstracted from worldly things and have by reflection gained a knowledge of the divine nature become absorbed into the universal soul immediately on the dissolution of the body. Others must pass through changes and transformations innumerable before their final reunion with the supreme. As Emerson expresses it:

“ If the red slayer thinks he slays,
Or if the slain think he’s slain,
They know not well the subtle ways,
I turn, and turn, and turn again.”

A missionary in India was crossing the Ganges in the same boat with a Brahmin. “Brahmin,” he inquired, “do you believe that your soul is a part of God?” “Most certainly,” was the reply. “And yet,” continued the inquirer, “God rules the universe. Does your soul take part in that celestial government?” Without answering in words, the Brahmin took half the shell of a cocoanut that was lying in the boat, and filled it with water from the river. “Is this water a part of the Ganges?” he inquired. “Yes,” replied the missionary, for he did not deem it best to be too critical. “And yet on the Ganges great ships are floating. Can a ship float on this little cup?” “No.” Then, suiting the action to the word, the Brahmin spilled the

water from the shell into the river and triumphantly inquired : "Is not the water which I held in my hand now doing its part in floating the ships? Even so my soul, when it returns to its source, shall bear its part in the government of the universe." No wonder that the missionary, in his appeal to the American churches, pleads with them to send learned men as missionaries to India, and to leave their ignorant devotees at home!

When Gautama Buddha, otherwise known as Siddhartha and Sakyamuni, undertook the task of reforming Brahmanism, it seems never to have occurred to him to change its fundamental principles. His pessimism was even more pronounced than that of his predecessors. "If, life is an evil, and death itself is no deliverance from life, it is necessary to go further back to discover the very origin, the seed, so to speak, of existence. This seed the Buddhist finds in 'Karma,' the sum of merit and demerit, which, as each one's demerit is the greater of the two, often comes to much the same thing as sin or error." "Root out 'Karma,' with its mistaken clinging to life, and there will be deliverance at last—deliverance from all sorrow and all trouble in the eternal rest of Nirvana." (*Encyc. Britt.*)

To destroy "Karma," and thus to attain to Nirvana, Gautama opened the "four-fold path." The religion which he founded is extremely fascinating to the Oriental mind. "Self-conquest and universal charity are its fundamental themes, the melodies on whose variations its entrancing harmony is built up." Its effect on the Oriental races has been decidedly humanizing. In its moral teachings and religious ceremonial it so closely resembles Christianity that the early Jesuit missionaries termed it "Satan's caricature of the truth."

The character of Gautama is beautiful beyond description. A prince who from motives of the purest charity renounces his throne, bids farewell forever to a wife and child whom he loves beyond the power of expression, and literally becomes a beggar, in order that by his own sufferings he may lead others to eternal peace—such a personage in a certain sense deserves the tribute of admiration which unnumbered millions have poured at his

feet. To follow him in his quest for Nirvana, as its successive stages are depicted in "The Light of Asia," is not only a delightful literary employment, but may actually become an act of genuine devotion. And yet the religion which Gautama taught ignores the existence of God—replacing Him with a chain of endless causation—and practically denies the immortality of the soul, for "Karma" is not the soul, but rather the sum of deeds which gives rise to a new existence. Such a system leads to self-effacement—to the destruction of individuality. It can have no genuine history; it leaves no room for personal development. To compare it with Christianity betrays ignorance of the nature of true religion. The one degrades humanity; the other is its glorification. The one humiliates a prince to the condition of a beggar and leaves him there; the other elevates "the Man who had not where to lay His head" to a throne which is above all heavens, to be worshiped as the incarnate God.

The visitor to Bombay, or to some obscure towns of Persia, may catch an occasional glimpse of another Oriental religion, whose peculiarities may be held to contradict what has been said, but is in fact the exception which proves the rule. Certainly the Parsees manifest no lack of individuality. They are ideal merchants, and their wealth has become proverbial. Benevolence is said to be the most important tenet of their religion, and they have thirty-two charitable institutions in the city of Bombay alone. How highly they are esteemed by their English rulers is indicated by the fact that the only Orientals to whom the Queen of Great Britain has granted titles of nobility have been eminent Parsee merchants.

The individuality and energy of this remarkable people we attribute in great degree to their comparative freedom from the prevailing pantheism of the East. The sources of their religion, we remember, were very near to those from which Judaism and Christianity are derived. Their great teacher, Zoroaster (or Zarathustra), taught pure theism, and his follower, Cyrus, king of Persia, assisted in the building of the second temple at Jerusalem, and is called in the Bible "the beloved of the Lord."

Unfortunately, at a very early period the pure faith which appears in the Zend Avesta became obscured. To the magi of Media is believed to be due the introduction of the peculiar dualism, which divides its reverence between Ormuzd and Ahri-man, or light and darkness. Thus the way was opened for that symbolical worship of the elements, and particularly of fire, which has given its adherents the contemptuous name of "fire-worshippers." Degraded by its corruption, the religion of ancient Persia is now confined to a few thousand adherents; but such as it is, it is infinitely better, in all that concerns the development of true humanity, than the mighty systems of Brahmanism and Buddhism, with their millions of abject slaves.

Mohammedanism, as we have said, is not an original religion, but for this very reason it includes elements which attract our interest and sympathy. Its decided monotheism and extreme legalism are essentially Jewish. The recognition of the prophetic character of Jesus, and possibly the intense hatred of images which is characteristic of all the Mohammedan races, may have been derived from the heretical Christians who had just been worsted in the great iconoclastic controversy. The sensual element, including polygamy and materialistic views of heaven and hell, are undoubtedly heathen; but what is the origin of the element which gives its name to the system? Is Islam—that "rest in God" which renders the Moslem insensible to the dangers of the battle-field because he knows he cannot die until his time has come—derived from the West or from the East? Is it akin to Christian predestination or to Oriental fatalism? Has it come from St. Augustine or from Sakyamuni?

Let it be remembered that when Mohammed appeared, the religion of the Arabians, such as it was, was thoroughly Oriental. While they recognized a supreme God, whom they called Allah, each tribe worshiped gods of its own who were sometimes called "the children of Allah." It was not believed that man could communicate with Allah or that he heard prayer. Then "the camel-driver of Mecca" appeared upon the scene, with his simple message: "There is no God but God,"

to which he subsequently added the phrase, "and Mohammed is the prophet of God."

In the whole history of the Orient there is nothing more fascinating than the career of Mohammed and his coadjutors. Consider him as we like—as the prophet, priest, or king of Arabia—and his personality is wonderful. Nor can we refuse our admiration to Ali, "the lion of God," and to Omar, the wild son of the desert, who, at the time when the prophet himself lay hidden for fear of the Koreish, boldly entered the Kaaba and made its arches ring with his triumphant cry: "La Ila Illulah! Wa Mohammed Rasoul Ullah!" When the Koreish sought to induce Mohammed to desist from his work by offering him gifts, he burst forth in the splendid utterance: "Though they gave me the sun in my right hand and the moon in my left, yet will I not pause till the Lord bring my cause unto victory;" and yet these same Koreish subsequently accomplished their purpose without a bribe. When the seven-years' war was ended, and all Arabia lay prostrate at the prophet's feet, family affection grew strong upon him. Having conquered the Koreish in battle he sought to make them amends and to gain their affection by doing them honor. They remained the hereditary priests of Mecca, and while they claimed to exceed all others in their devotion to the prophet, the ancient ceremonial was not greatly changed. The heathen *renaissance* had fairly begun. Miracles were invented and traditions fostered until the new structure was covered with foliage of the imagination like that which had adorned the old. Islam was systematized and explained in a spirit akin to that of the far East, and its effect was rather to repress individuality than to promote its highest development. Ali alone had courage to resist this backward movement; but the strength of the Koreish, conjoined with the hatred of Ayesha, the favorite wife of the prophet, was too great for him, so that he was driven into schism, and died at last the death of a martyr. His tragical fate and that of his sons, Hassan and Hosain, is the theme of the passion plays of Persia which are said to be mir-

acles of the dramatic art, and are certainly well worthy of closer examination.

To trace the history of Islam is beyond our purpose. That it reveals splendid subjects of study need hardly be said. There have been great warriors innumerable, but we prefer to remember such rulers as Almansor, the patron of learning, and Saladin, "the mirror of knightly courtesy." The Saracens, we know, were the teachers of Europe, whose scholars for ages sat humbly at the feet of Averroes and Avicenna. At Bagdad and Damascus science flourished, and scores of inventions are due to Oriental genius.

The Koran is even now the religious and civil law of more than one hundred millions of people. The system of jurisprudence, which is based upon that wonderful book, deserves more attention than it has hitherto received at our hands, especially as regards its relations to the social order — often called "Oriental Feudalism" — which may be regarded as one of the subsidiary causes of that lack of individuality to which we have so frequently referred.

The commandment of the prophet — founded no doubt on an erroneous interpretation of the second commandment — absolutely forbids the delineation of the human form; but it may be questioned whether, even without the prohibition, the East could have produced beautiful statues and great historical paintings. It would not have been in accordance with the spirit of the Orient. It must, however, be confessed that its wonderful sympathy with nature, especially in its vegetable forms, has led in other lines to the production of unequalled ideals of loveliness.

The Spirit of the Orient remains unchanged, except in the regions where European influence has recently been predominant. It has been suggested that in the East "every man might be his own great-grandfather." Western Asia has for ages lain prostrate at the feet of "the unspeakable Turk," and so long as his rule continues genuine progress is impossible. Yet the tendency of mind everywhere is to individualization, and

the eternal peace of Nirvana and the stately rest of Islam are alike losing their fascination. The religious systems of the East are lifeless, and the people follow their prescriptions with languid interest. Hence we find that in the regions touched by western influence, the few religious messengers whom we in our parsimony and lack of faith have sent them, have already accomplished wonderful revolutions. Politicians may sneer, if they will; but it is in this apparently insignificant movement alone that we must seek the key to the Oriental question. The Spirit of the Orient must be exorcised or the people will perish. They must be roused from their lethargy, or they will be swept from the earth. Already the nations of the West have drawn a cordon around them, and there are no indications that it will speedily be relaxed. One thing alone appears certain: That if the Oriental is to be saved, it must be by the power of the Truth that teaches the priceless value of each immortal soul; and which, therefore, cannot fail to raise him to a renewed and vigorous manhood.

IV.

PRESBYTERIANISM AND EDUCATION.*

BY REV. DAVID S. SCHAFF, D.D.

CHRISTIANITY is the sworn friend of education. Its aim is to develop the whole man. All his faculties being of divine origin, are noble and deserve to be trained unto perfection. It is the soul's prerogative to attain to the knowledge of God through the works of creation and of grace. Life eternal is this: to *know* God and Jesus Christ, whom He hath sent. By the culture and science of his intellect, as well as by the holiness of his heart, man strives after likeness with the Creator.


The Church came only gradually to an adequate conception of the duty devolving upon a Christian community to provide means for universal education. Early in its history the close alliance of religion and higher learning was not only illustrated in St. Paul and Apollos, but demonstrated in the schools of Alexandria, Antioch, and other centres. Throughout the Dark and Middle Ages the monastery was the conservator of literature and libraries, and within the protection of its walls and in Cathedral and parochial schools, all the education that was given in Western Europe was imparted. Learning was almost exclusively a monopoly of the clergy. To a monk,—the monk of Yarrow, the Venerable Bede,—is accorded the honor of being the Father of English learning. The great universities of Paris, Bologna, Prague and Oxford grew up under the patronage of the Church. Charlemagne seems to have been the first Christian prince to have statesmanlike, howbeit, imperfect, presentiments of the later movement of popular education.

* A paper read at the Parliament of Religions, in Chicago, September 17 1893.

Here and there we find a council, like that of Lambeth (1281), calling upon priests to instruct the young; and here and there a catechism, like that of Ottfried in the ninth century, is prepared for their use. Not a nobler thing is recorded of the great Chancellor Gerson than that he spent his last days teaching children.

In the fifteenth century the seeds were sown from which our modern institutions of learning and plans of education have sprung. The Renaissance in Italy, with the writings of Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio; the Fall of Constantinople, in 1453, involving the dispersion of Greek scholars over Western Europe; Humanism represented by such men as Erasmus and Agricola, Beza and Zwingli, More and Colet, indicated the mighty movement of an awakened intellectual life, and called the attention of enthusiastic constituencies to the higher pursuits of intellectual culture. It remained for the Reformers to open up the paths of popular education. Both movements,—the literary and the religious,—were aided beyond the power of computation by the printing-presses of Gutenberg and Fust. By pointing with fresh emphasis to the rights of the individual man before the Creator, and his immediate personal accountability to the divine government, the Reformation was compelled to foster general culture so that each man might for himself search out the truths contained in the Word of God, and be able to give a reasonable statement of his faith. Under its impulse the nations of Europe started as a strong man to run the race of modern progress and civilization. Combating the notion that “ignorance is the mother of devotion,” the Reformers insisted upon the principle that intelligence and learning are bulwarks of sound religion.

Luther went far in the direction of popular education in his address to the German nobles (1520), and his little book addressed to the civil magistrates of German cities. “Even if there were no souls,” he writes, “and we had not the least need of schools and the languages, for the sake of the Scriptures and of God, this one reason would suffice for the existence of



schools everywhere, both for boys and girls, namely: that the world also needs accomplished men and women for maintaining its outward temporal prosperity." In a letter to the Elector of Saxony, in 1526, he laid down the principle that the State has a right to compel attendance upon its schools, as well as to enforce measures for their support.

Calvin, like Luther, Œcolampadius, and other Reformers, did not consider it beneath his dignity to utilize his learning for the benefit of children. He placed general education and catechetical instruction at the basis of the Genevan republic. During his first residence in Geneva he prepared a catechism (1536), and later sent forth new editions, the first French edition, with questions and answers, being in 1541. From the first the ministers of Geneva were incessantly active, both in catechizing and preaching. The clergy of all the Protestant churches gave much care to the instruction of the children in the catechism, and this catechetical instruction was the immediate forerunner of daily schools for instruction in all knowledge. The conception of the public school, as Heppe* has said, could only grow up out of the principles of Protestantism; not at once, however, into full form, but gradually, as the Protestant churches felt the need of it.

Presbyterianism—and I use the term as inclusive of all the branches of the Reformed Church which are confederated together in the Pan-Presbyterian Alliance—sharing the principles of the Reformation, has always advocated sound ministerial learning and popular education. In developing this proposition, it may be done without attempting to disparage the influence of other types of Christian doctrine and ritual upon popular education. As Ambrose once said, "There ought to be no strife but conference among the servants of Christ." At this parliament it is not the purpose that any comparison should be made in a spirit of rivalry, by which any real or fancied superiority of the system of the Reformed churches be established, but only that the truth be positively presented.

* *Geschichte des Protestantischen Schulwesens, I., 3.*

I. THE ADAPTATION OF PRESBYTERIANISM TO FOSTER EDUCATION appears in the emphasis it lays upon the *sermon*. In its public worship the exposition of the Word has been the conspicuous element. The clergyman is chiefly a preacher and teacher. The sermon is not principally an exhortation, but an instructive discourse designed to present to the mind the teachings of the Bible, and to train it to grasp them. The Reformed pulpit from Zürich to Edinburgh became famous. The literature of the old Puritan pulpit is large, often profound, and some of it classic for the English student of his language.

The worship of the Reformed churches does not make its primary appeal to the æsthetic tastes or the emotional nature, but to the intellect and the conscience. Including the two elements of a message from God to be delivered and an offering to God to be rendered, it has laid emphasis upon the former. Some of the Reformed Churches have used liturgies; even the Presbyterian discipline permits their use. But everywhere among all the branches of the Reformed Church the sermon has been exalted. The minister's functions have made it necessary that the ministry be thoroughly trained, and this foremost among those functions—the didactic function—has involved the intellectual training and development of congregations.

A second element of adaptation in Presbyterianism to promote education is its *doctrinal system*. Some of the creeds of the Reformed Churches, notably those of the Westminster Divines and the Synod of Dort, have been widely condemned for seeking to give an exhaustive statement of all God's counsels from eternity. They have no doubt ventured too far in this regard, in comparison, for example, with the more modest and milder treatment in the Heidelberg Catechism and the Belgic Confession; but these statements have had the advantage of being fitted to call forth and to exercise the metaphysical powers of the mind. Perhaps in no other Church has doctrinal preaching been so generally practiced as in the Scotch Presbyterian churches and their offspring in America and the British colonies. The creeds and catechisms of the Reformed Churches

were intended to be studied, not only by the ministry, but by the people. They were to be taught and expounded in the family circle. Their structure and statement of doctrine appeals to the intellect; the effort required to understand them is itself a mental discipline.

The adaptation of the Presbyterian system to promote education shows itself again in the prominence it gives to the *activity* of the laity. Upon the layman, in conjunction with the clergyman, devolves the administration of the Church. Church government ultimately starts from the congregation, and is vested in its representatives, who, with the ministry, determine doctrine and execute law. The Reformed Churches reject the theory of *ecclesia in episcopo* in the strict or modified sense. "The people," says Dr. Hodge, "have a substantive part in the government of the Church." Where the determination of doctrine and Church discipline rests so largely with the congregation as represented by its chosen elders, it is of greatest importance for the well-being of the Church that the laity be not only a pious company of worshipers, but also a well-instructed body, capable of intelligently conceiving the doctrines of the Church and wisely administering its laws.

Then the Presbyterian system has always emphasized a personal acquaintance with the Scriptures. In the Bible itself is the authority of the Bible lodged. Not the clergy, nor yet the courts of the Church, are ultimate tribunals. The Scripture itself is the final tribunal of faith. Each is under obligation to interpret it for himself, and has the right to make his final appeal to it. As the Scriptures are the infallible rule of faith and conduct, it is the duty of the Church to put them into the hands of all men, and to see to it that they are helped in every way to an intelligent and correct understanding of their truths. The most conspicuous place in the sanctuary is occupied by the sacred volume. In the family it is to be studied and taught. To each individual it is to serve as a lamp unto the feet and a light to the path. When the preacher addresses his congregation, he introduces his words with the call, "Let us hear the Word of God."

The Scriptures are themselves a library—"the divine library," as Jerome called them—and an intelligent acquaintance with their contents is a liberal education. They are so rich that no ordinary man can devote himself to their study with intelligence and prayer without finding secrets of wisdom he has never heard from a human master. It is most probable that the Reformed Churches will continue, as in the past so in the future, to insist upon the thorough training of the ministry in the letter and the doctrines of the Scriptures, as of incomparably more value than any other attainments; and they will demand that their theological teachers be most wary and cautious in announcing any views that call in question their truthful accuracy, even in matters which are not themselves essential to that body of truth for which the Scriptures were given by inspiration of God.

Thus, by the stress it lays on the sermon and the teaching function of the ministry, by its analytic treatment of doctrine in its creeds, by the prominence it gives to the laity in the administration of Church government, and by the solemn stress it lays upon the use of the Scriptures by every man, the system of the Reformed Churches proves its fitness to train the intellect and foster general education.

II. THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION UNDER THE PRESBYTERIAN SYSTEM—In his Ecclesiastical Polity of 1541, John Calvin provided for teachers of the classic languages and the natural sciences, as well as of the Christian doctrines. In Switzerland and in Holland, where the Reformed tenets were generally adopted, the school flourished. It was the boast in Friesland that the fisherman in his hut could read the Scriptures and discuss their interpretation. I shall confine myself to the working of the system in Great Britain and the United States.

As early as 1558, and before the principles of the Reformation were authoritatively recognized in Scotland, John Knox, in a letter from Geneva entitled, a "Brief Exhortation to England," declared that "for the preservation of religion it is most

expedient that schools be universally erected in all cities and chief towns, and oversight thereof be committed to the magistrates and learned men of said cities and towns." Thus very early in the history of the English Reformation and stimulated by Calvin's example, the future leader of Scotch Presbyterianism called for popular and thorough education.

The Church in Scotland, from 1560 to 1633, had control of schools and education. The State, during this period, made no provision for this cause, but left the matter wholly to Church agencies. After 1633 the State made partial provision, and since 1872 it has assumed entire responsibility for the primary education of the people.

Prior to the Reformation, Scotland had the three universities of St. Andrews, Aberdeen and Glasgow, and grammar schools were established in the principal towns. These were further developed by the Presbyterians, and arrangements gradually made for the establishment of primary schools throughout the land. The First Book of Discipline (1560) declared that every considerable parish should have a school with a schoolmaster fit to teach the grammar and the Latin tongue, and that in small towns the reader or minister should take charge of the instruction of the youth. The closest connection between the Church and the school was maintained. Religious instruction was, as might be expected, regarded as of most importance. In the Education Act of Parliament of 1567, it is declared to be "tinsel baith of their bodies and of their soulis gif God's word be not ruted." In many parishes the minister continued for years to perform the functions of the schoolmaster. A frequent reference in old church and Presbytery records* is, "to the school at the Kirk." The session of Lasswarde (1615) instructed their clerk to "ring the bell ilk morning at seven hours, as near as he can be his judgment, to advertise the bairns to come to school."

For many a long day the Scotch schoolmaster had to pass an examination before Presbytery "in respect to morality and

* Edgar's *Old Church Life in Scotland*, 2 vols.

religion, and of such branches of literature as by the majority might be deemed most necessary and important for the parish." The sessions arranged for his stipend, and he occupied a position of honor in the parish second only to the minister, often assisting him in the services of the sanctuary. Singing or song schools were also established throughout Scotland, and one is reminded by them of Chaucer's reference to singing in the monastic school where the boys

"Acquired each, year by year,
Such kind of learning as was taught them there—
That is to say, to sing and read, as good
Small children ought to do in their childhood."

Crossing the seas to our own land we find the Calvinists of New England exercised most deeply, and almost from the moment of their landing, on the subject of schools and colleges. The schools and colleges of New England, which have been its glory, were in the earlier periods established and maintained under a religious impulse. Harvard, leading all in 1636, was dedicated to God and His Church. Dartmouth began as an Indian school with the motto *vox clamantis in deserto*. Mather, speaking of the influence of Harvard, says: "Harvard is a university which hath been to these plantations as Livy saith of Greece for the good of literature there cultivated, *sal gentium*, a seminary for the knowledge of God and a school for logical minds, and a river without the streams whereof these regions would have been mere unwatered places for the devil."

The Presbyterian and Reformed Churches in the Middle Colonies were less alert on the subject of education than the Puritans (and Presbyterians) of New England. This may be in part explained by the relative lack of compactness of their settlements and the heterogeneous elements intermingling in these colonies. For many years the Presbyterians gave a very considerable share of their scholars to Yale College. For the beginning of their denominational schools they look back to the Log College, established a mile from Neshaminy Creek, by Rev. William Tennent, who went to Neshaminy as pastor in

1726. "Whitefield's Journals" have preserved the only extant description of its buildings. "The Log College," he writes, "was 20 feet long and near as many broad, and to me it seemed to resemble the school of the old prophets, for their habitations were mean," etc. "This institution," as Dr. Archibald Alexander says, "was of unspeakable importance" to the Presbyterian Church in this country. Not a vestige of the old building remains.

Princeton, the oldest existing, as it is still the most influential of our Presbyterian centres of education, dates from 1746, its chartered name being the College of New Jersey. Dr. Jonathan Dickinson, one of the most learned theologians of the land in his day, opened the institution in his house at Elizabeth. At his death, a year later, the school was removed to Newark under the presidency of Dr. Aaron Burr, and then to Princeton. The institution has enjoyed the presidency and instruction of some of the most eminent divines in the land, from Jonathan Edwards, Samuel Davies and John Witherspoon, down to Archibald Alexander, the Hodges and James McCosh.

A warm interest was shown by the Presbyterian churches of Great Britain in the growth of Princeton College, and the appeals of Samuel Davies and Gilbert Tennent, who had been sent abroad to present its wants, were answered by a gift fund of £4000. On May 31, 1754, the General Assembly of Scotland "authorized and appointed a collection to be made at the church doors of all parishes in Scotland, . . . for the Young Daughter, because it was sensible that the encouraging of the said Princeton College is of great importance to the interests of religion and learning, and the support and further advancement of the kingdom of Christ in those parts of the world."

Three years prior to this date, in 1751-52, the Rev. Michael Schlatter, representing the scattered German Reformed churches of Pennsylvania, presented the cause of religion and education among them before the Synod and churches of Holland. Twelve thousand pounds were raised in Holland, the interest of

which was to go "towards the support of ministers and school-masters in Pennsylvania." Through the efforts of David Thomson, pastor of the English Reformed Church in Amsterdam, who had been stirred up by Schlatter, a large sum was raised in England for the maintenance of free schools among the Germans in America,* and also a fund by the churches of Scotland.

The honor of establishing the first theological seminary on the continent is claimed by the Dutch Reformed Church in New Brunswick, New Jersey, in 1784, and also by the Associate Reformed Church in 1794, at Service Creek, Pennsylvania.

The seminary at Princeton was founded in 1812 (five years after Andover), and was followed by the Presbyterian seminaries of Lane, Auburn, Xenia, Allegheny, Union, McCormick, Columbia, Union (Va.), Danville, Lebanon (Tenn.), Bloomfield, Dubuque, San Francisco, Omaha, Louisville and the German Reformed Seminaries at Lancaster (organized in 1825, at Carlisle, and in 1836 removed to Mercersburg) and at Tiffin, Ohio.

The Reformed Churches of the United States have wrought by organized effort to advance the cause of education. The Northern Presbyterian Church, for example, systematically promotes the cause of ministerial education by her Board of Education, founded in 1819, and of general education by her Boards of Freedmen, Publication, Home and Foreign Missions, and distinctively through the Board of Aid for Colleges and Academies. Since the organization of the last Board, in 1883, its yearly receipts have grown from \$15,000 to \$139,000 in 1892 and 1893. From the first Records of the Presbyterian Church, in 1706, to the Records of the last Synod, organized on the Pacific slope, frequent references will be found to actions concerning education.

No American friendly to Christianity can travel abroad in the Orient or heathen lands without observing with pride the institutions planted by the Calvinistic Churches of America. Robert College, a noble monument of Congregational liberality

* Briggs, *Presbyterianism*, p. 313.

and scholarship, and the Girls' School at Scutari, are bright lights on the Bosphorus. The Presbyterian College at Beyrut, Syria, and the United Presbyterian College at Assiout, on the Nile, are fountains of learning and civilization to the people among whom they are located. The primary schools and colleges established by the benevolence of the Reformed churches abroad are a standing testimony to the interest they take in the work of education. A long list of eminent names associated with this general cause will at once suggest themselves from Calvin and Beza to Chalmers and Duff, and the great host of teachers from the Reformed Churches in our own land from the college president, to the teacher in the humblest mission school for the Indian or Colored people.

III. PRESBYTERIANISM AND EDUCATION BY THE STATE.—The Presbyterian Church favors and supports the public school. No less an authority than Mr. Bancroft has declared Calvin to be "the father of popular education, the inventor of the system of free schools." * The American system of free schools may be dated from 1642, when orders were issued in Massachusetts' Colony that "every township, after the Lord had increased them to fifty householders, should have a school, and that all children be taught to read and write; and, so soon as the number of households be increased to 100, a grammar school should be established with a teacher able to prepare the youth for the university."

It may be regarded as an axiom, generally accepted among the Reformed Churches of the land, that it is an imperative duty of the State to maintain schools to which all shall have free access. Religious considerations of a general nature, as well as the consideration of patriotism, obligate the State to compel all to receive an elementary education. This, however, does not imply that the State should make attendance upon its own schools obligatory. The Presbyterian Church North has often shown its attitude to the public school through the deliverances of its General Assembly. In 1870 it declared "the public

* *Lit. and Hist. Miscellanies*, p. 406.

school to be the most precious heirloom of American liberty. . . No other agency, if we except the Church of God, has had so large a share in laying the foundation of popular intelligence, virtue and freedom. It cannot be endangered without peril to the vital interests of American society."

The present prevailing state of opinion, no doubt, is that the State is not justified in including religion among the branches of instruction taught. The composition of American society is too complex, and the rivalry of denominational beliefs too energetic to admit at the present moment of an agreement upon the nature and extent of the religious teaching, even if such were deemed expedient. No type of Christian faith is at present so overwhelmingly in the preponderance as to render it justifiable to make it the religious standard in the school supported by general taxation. The spirit and the letter of our republican institutions are against the sectarian use of public funds. Any attempt to wrest the public funds for the promotion of sectarian interests cannot be looked upon with tolerance. It jeopardizes the whole fabric of the public school.

The public school may not be sectarian. It must not be disrespectful to the Christian religion. No element of teaching should be admitted that antagonizes it, and no teacher is worthy of his position who casts flings at its doctrines or constituency. The object of the public school is to give an elementary education in whatsoever is distinctly pertinent to the present life and the relation of man to his fellow-man.

Differences of opinion still exist in regard to the wisdom of retaining a simple form of religious exercises at the opening of the school, when there is any expressed objection to them. But, if I judge rightly, public opinion in the Protestant churches is growingly in favor of excluding them altogether. What was once justifiable when a constituency was predominantly, if not exclusively, Protestant cannot be regarded as such where Catholic or Jewish, or other non-sympathetic elements are introduced. By abandoning an opening prayer and the reading of King James' Version, do we abandon the schools of the

State to irreligion? By no means. A portion of the community simply relinquishes its preference for the sake of the public peace, to avoid giving occasion of offense to fellow-citizens of equal rights with itself, and to take out of the way any rock upon which the public school system of the land may be threatened with foundering.

To declare that the "presence of the Bible in every public school is an indispensable condition of their existence" must be regarded as a rash and exasperating form of statement, so long as the usual constituents of an elementary education are in themselves deemed to be of any value whatsoever. The public school is not godless because no religious instruction is given in it. It is not godless so long as reading, writing and arithmetic are taught, any more than a pear tree is a thorn bush because it does not bear luscious Bartlett pears. It is not godless when fundamental principles of Christian philosophy animate the conduct of teachers.

What the attitude of the great Roman Catholic body of our population (now apparently hostile to all forms of non-sectarian education) may involve, no one can at present adequately forecast. It seems, however, to the writer, that while the principle is maintained without flinching that no State aid shall go to sectarian schools, Protestants must seek to perpetuate the public school system by a readiness to consult with that very large and respectable body of the community which attacks the present management of the public school, and to come to some amicable agreement, if at all possible, with it, on the basis of American citizenship, concerned for the perpetuity of the American State. Should, however, the sentiment of the Catholic hierarchy and people, in localized communities or states where their numbers are relatively large, still insist upon sectarian appropriations, that catastrophe must be averted and the free school be perpetuated by adjusting taxation with reference to a large action in the compass of our common school education itself and a limitation of age in the pupils qualified to attend. If the only alternative, however, be sectarian appropriations or no

school system maintained at the public expense, the matter would probably end in the acceptance of the latter. Private enterprise and patriotism would, no doubt, be sufficient to meet the terrible emergency. It would seem, however, that it was possible to give some quietus to the antagonism on this question, from the standpoint of American citizenship, by an agreement to limit the public school education to elementary branches, acknowledged by all to be of value, and to exclude all things but the prosecution of them.

IV. PRESBYTERIANISM AND DENOMINATIONAL COLLEGES.—The maintenance of denominational institutions has grown out of the exigency of meeting the demand for higher schools of learning and from the denominational instinct to keep under churchly influences the children within a denomination. It is not of the genius of the Reformed Churches to antagonize state institutions. Its interest is to support them. The universities of the Reformed type of theology in Germany, Switzerland, and Holland are sustained by the State. A pressing necessity is felt of institutions managed by denominational control vouching for the Christian character of the influences brought to bear upon our students. This does not mean that the control should be clerical or sectarian, but generously Christian and religious. In an address before one of the councils of the Pan Presbyterian Alliance, Dr. McCosh tried to establish two principles, "that it is not just the duty or office of a Church to manage a college, . . . but churches should see to it that religion has a place where young men are to be trained." Too close a denominational control will inevitably limit the sphere of an institution's usefulness in our country, while all lack of Church control is apt to be attended with a total disregard of religious observances, if not religious principles.

A growing constituency is demanding that at our colleges something beyond mere respect be had for religion. Parents are not satisfied with a curriculum requiring nothing more than an attendance upon lectures and examinations. They ask that for their children, at the formative period of college life, a

positive Christian influence be brought to bear upon them by the professors. While as little compulsion as possible should be employed in the matter of religious observance, a definite regard for Christianity should be had in outward exercises, and definite courses of instruction be given on religious subjects. The great facts and influences of the Bible are certainly no less worthy of attention in the college than the facts and influences of the Roman Empire. The first regulations of Harvard College bearing on religion belong to another period of our history, as when they enjoin that "every one shall so exercise himself in the reading of the Scriptures twice a day that he may be able to give an account of his proficiency therein." But, inapplicable as such a rule would be to-day, it seems to be felt that we have gone too far in the other direction, and there are marked signs of an intention to correct the mistake.

The Reformed Churches are most solemnly pledged to the cause of education, and wherever they have flourished the school and the university have been established. As God is for every man who wills to find Him, so this world, with all its realms of created work and curious forces, and all the chambers of man's historic activity, are to be made free to every man to study. It is to the interest of true religion that all true science and art and culture be magnified and encouraged, and the acquaintance with them be extended to the widest possible constituency. In this way man will come to display more generally his own greatness, and, as through an increased lens in the telescope revealing larger constellations, he will come to know the greatness of God and be led in reverence to exclaim: "How excellent is Thy name in all the earth!" We are learning more fully the meaning of both propositions in the statement that godliness is profitable for the life that now is and the life that is to come. To the Egypt of the past we leave as the task, overshadowing all others, to compose a Book of the Dead. We live, and we foster all knowledge of life from that of the hyssop in the wall to the sweep of God's mighty hand across the nightly heavens. The excellency of all knowledge, the consummation of all edu-

cation, the highest reach of wisdom, is to find out God in Christ. The great philosopher Schelling, writing in the album of an American student, knew no better words to inscribe than the Greek of St. Paul: * "In Him are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge." He is the wisdom of God, and above all other schools is the school of personal companionship with Him. To know Him is the highest achievement of an education.

* Col. 2: 3. The student was the Rev. Daniel W. Poor, D.D.

Jacksonville, Ill.

V.

THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM OF THE REFORMED CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES.*

BY REV. S. Z. BEAM, D.D.

THE great tenacity with which the Reformed Church in the United States has ever clung to its peculiar system of *educational* religion is one of its distinguishing features. I say "*its peculiar system*," not to insinuate that no other Christian denomination has an educational system, but rather to note the fact, that with us it has a different meaning and a different purpose.

With most Christian denominations, education means a training of the natural powers for the purpose of leading to conversion. Working on this foundation, they do not practice Infant Baptism, or, if they do, they fail to recognize its grace-bearing character, and accordingly they ignore any effect which it may be supposed to produce upon the inner life of the child, and proceed with his education just exactly as if he had not been baptized.

With us, on the contrary (and two or three other churches), education means a leading out, or training of the Christian life already implanted in the soul, with the purpose of nurturing that life in the Lord.

But most Protestant Churches have fallen away, practically, from this educational, and, as we believe, scriptural system of religion, and substituted for it, the more popular and pre-

* The above paper was read before the Ohio Synod at the Centennial Service held on Friday afternoon and evening, October 13, 1893, at Bloomville O., in honor of the hundred years of the independent existence of the Reformed Church in the United States.

vailing system of *Revivalism*. Let me be fully understood here. I am not finding fault with the Revival System, nor do I wish to discredit it in any particular. What I wish to emphasize is the fact, *that it is not our system*, and that whenever it has made itself felt in any of our congregations, and wherever it prevails among them, they have ceased in any true sense to be Reformed, because they have forsaken and set aside the Reformed System.

Our Church has, from the beginning, firmly stood for the principle of educational religion, believing it to be original and in harmony with Holy Scripture. Any other system is foreign to its spirit and genius. It can not admit of any additions or subtractions. It must stand or fall alone. It is either right or wrong, and no amount of manipulation or tinkering can make it harmonize with systems of a different or less ancient order. It must stand upon its own merits or fall by its demerits.

It claims to be Scriptural in the broadest, fullest and most liberal sense, not depending on isolated passages of holy writ to sustain its position, but laying hold, rather, of the general inner sense and meaning of divine revelation by faith; it relies on that, and not solely on the letter, as the norm and guide of our spiritual life.

It claims to be churchly, in a high and universal sense, holding the Church to be the body of Christ, the fullness of Him that filleth all in all, and that, as such, it has Christ for its Head and us for its members. The Church, according to this system, is a divine-human constitution of grace, carrying within it all the means necessary for the conversion and salvation of the world. And while outwardly it has different forms of government, and is capable of suiting itself to all times, places, circumstances and peoples, it is ever the same Holy Catholic Church of Christ, fully equipped, divinely appointed, and humanly manned, to carry the gospel to every creature.

The educational system, as held by the Reformed Church, is *also sacramental*, holding the sacraments of Baptism, and the

Holy Supper to be *essential marks of the true Church of Christ, and divinely appointed channels or means of grace, through which the divine life is communicated to, and nourished in, the believer.* And any system of religion which ignores, or sets aside, or speaks lightly of these grace-bearing institutions, is entirely of another spirit, and can in no manner be harmonized or joined with this system, any more than oil and water can unite and become one substance.

This system further claims *that no manner of education, in the sphere of nature, which ignores the Sacraments, can change an unconverted sinner into an immaculate saint, or make him spiritually different from what he was before.*

Its principle is fully represented and embodied in the Heidelberg Catechism, and finds devotional utterance and appropriate forms of worship, in the Directory of Worship.

The Catechism bears testimony, both by the form in which its instructions are molded and by its personal address to the Catechumen, of the position now taken with reference to the claims of the system.

It makes personal experimental religion a fundamental principle, and addresses the Catechumen with personal questions with reference to his personal salvation, and it puts answers in his mouth, which imply that he is already a Christian. Accordingly, it is easy to see that it assumes that the divine life has been implanted in him, and that it is about to be developed and nourished in the Lord.

This system is not just the same as that represented, ordinarily, in the Sunday-schools of the day. And, although the Sunday-school is called an educational institution, and certainly has a great work to do by way of instructing the scholars in the doctrines and precepts of the Bible, its geography and chronology, and in showing the relations, correspondencies and antagonisms of sacred to contemporaneous history; yet its educational standpoint is widely different from that of the educational system of religion, as apprehended and taught by the Reformed Church.

It must be admitted that individuals in the Reformed Church, either from lack of proper training or from personal predilection, have substituted the Revival for the educational system of religion. But this admission does not alter the state of the case, or in any way invalidate the claim, that the Church, as such, has never repudiated its own legitimate system for the sake of another. But, on the contrary, it has clung to it, as a vital principle, true loyalty to which is essential to its very existence, if its distinctive character is to be maintained and its separate existence justified.

A falling away from this standpoint must involve, for the Reformed Church, therefore, a departure from the whole system on which it rests, and a sundering of the ties which bind us to the faith and cultus of our own Reformed fathers, and the embracing of a system of which they practically knew nothing, and which, if they could rise from their graves, they would repudiate as a foreign innovation.

Let it be remembered here that I am not comparing or contrasting two systems, to discredit the one and to defend the other; I am only stating obvious facts, which no one, who is capable of comprehending their differences, can deny, whether his personal predilections favor the one or the other. These two systems are not the same, and, as already plainly stated, they cannot unite or assimilate without losing their distinctive characteristics.

It is evident that the educational system of the Reformed Church is not the popular system. On the contrary, churches which have adopted the Revival System have far outstripped us in numerical growth, as well as in wealth and outward influence, so that, during the century of our independent existence, many denominations have sprung into existence as if by magic, and distanced us in the race for popular favor, and so they have left us far in the rear, and complacently look upon us as the "antiquated relic of a by-gone age"—a petrified fossil, whose life, if it ever had life, has gone out in darkness. Our special love for the Church, and our faith in the grace-bearing

character of the word and sacraments, and our loyalty to the divinely appointed means of grace (as we believe them to be), are only so many evidences *to them* that we are far behind the spirit of the age, which has been able to discover, and successfully use, so many modern inventions for the conversion of sinners and the rapid spread of the Gospel.

Our Church and her system are not popular. But does it therefore follow that others are all right and we all wrong? I think not. On the contrary, I believe that though numerically small among the thousands of Israel, we are, among the churches, like the leaven in the meal. Others have rushed on with lightning speed in their work of growth and outward influence and fame. We have plodded silently along, holding fast to the old-fashioned Scriptural means of grace, interpreting their meaning, according to the symbol of our faith, the Heidelberg Catechism. We have held on to the practice of baptizing our children into Christ, thereby consecrating them to God as His children, who thus makes them new creatures in Christ Jesus, by the operation of the Holy Spirit. As children of our heavenly Father, we have kept on catechizing and nurturing them in the Lord, confirming them at the proper age, and sending them out into the wide world, imbued with this faith in which they have been nurtured, and carrying it with them, as the inheritance of a glorious patrimony. With this faith, they have mingled with others, gradually, silently and surely leavening them with the power of their faith, until all the denominations of the land have felt its living influence.

Besides this, the literature of our Church is attracting attention outside of our own denominational limits, being read and studied by leading men in other churches; and the principles of Reformed theology are apprehending them with an irresistible grasp, and leading them to adopt the very things they once repudiated. It is, therefore, evident that our educational system is exerting a wider and more powerful influence than appears on the surface. And this influence for good is all the more effective from the fact that those, who are the subjects of

its power, are unconscious of the source from whence it comes. This may appear somewhat bold, but any one familiar with current theological history in the United States, must see that the theological leaders in most Protestant churches, are slowly, but surely, gravitating towards the Christo-logical and Christo-centric system of the Heidelberg Catechism. And, at the same time, the holy sacraments, which have suffered so much at the hands of Protestant writers, are beginning to receive due honor, while the Church is beginning to be acknowledged as the "pillar and ground of truth," and "the body of Christ, the fullness of Him that filleth all in all."

Thus the educational system of religion is working its way, and the Church, which a few years ago was supposed not to believe in conversion, is furnishing lessons of instruction to some, who, perhaps, would resent the allegation; for it seems to have become a settled purpose, in some quarters, to affect entire ignorance of the Reformed Church, in its true historical character.

All this may sound to some ears like presumptuous boasting, but if, any bring such a charge, we simply reply, "As the truth of Christ is in us, this boasting shall not be stopped in us." (See 2 Cor. xi: 10.) If any one will carefully investigate the history of the past century of our Church, he will be able to verify the truth of these statements, unless he is too blinded by prejudice to see the truth when it is laid bare before his eyes. Or again, if any one will read the reviews of the various religious denominations, he will find articles advocating doctrines and practices, which were taught fifty years ago by leading writers of the Reformed Church, for which they were denounced and ostracized as heretics and schismatics. These views are beginning to pass current now as common property; but writers of the present day seem wholly unconscious of the fact that what they are teaching as something new, was held and taught by the Reformed Church before they were born.

The recent movement in the Presbyterian Church, regarding the revision of its standards, is an evident advance towards

the position of the Heidelberg Catechism, as understood by the Reformed Church, however seldom that symbol receives creditable mention by their writers and speakers. The so-called "New Theology," now taught at Andover, is Reformed Theology, only disguised and marred by glosses which we cannot endorse. But, divested of these, that theology is found to be an exposition of the doctrines of the Heidelberg Catechism, and in harmony with its educational system.

From a consideration of these undeniable facts, and others which might be added, it is easy to see that the educational system of the Reformed Church, embodied in the Heidelberg Catechism, affords a broad basis on which all Protestant Churches can, and probably will, unite. And all efforts hitherto made towards a consensus of Christian doctrine, point towards this system, however much the Catechism itself is ignored.

The evident reason for this is, that while this Catechism is free from the peculiarities of the other confessions of faith, it embraces the fundamental and essential principles of them all; and, at the same time, while it condemns and makes no compromise with error, yet it exhibits the irenical spirit of the Master.

But chief among the excellencies of this system is the reverence for the divine ordinances, and its resolute opposition to that restless spirit, which so readily dispenses with the appointed means of grace, and substitutes any innovation that promises greater outward results and quicker returns.

Religion, from this standpoint, begins in the cradle, where the infant of a few days, or weeks, is consecrated to God in holy baptism, and thereby becomes the subject of that grace in which it stands, and is permitted to rejoice in hope of the glory of God.

At this initial point, according to the educational system of religion, the germ of the new life is deposited in the soul, which, subsequently, under the proper conditions, passes through a course of development, which reaches its maturity only, when the child has attained the stature of perfect manhood in Jesus Christ.

This perfect state, however, is only reached, finally, in glorification, at the right hand of God. Education, in this case, means the leading out of the new life, and the Holy Spirit molds it more and more, as the training proceeds, into the perfect image of Christ, which is the goal and crown of the whole Christian life.

Such, in brief, is the educational system of the Reformed Church, as embodied doctrinally in the catechism and embraced in the Directory of Worship and the Hymnal, in devotional forms, and carried out practically in the daily life of the truest and best members of the Church. For this system, and its salutary influence upon the Church, and, through the Church, on Protestantism in the United States, during the last hundred years, we ought to be profoundly thankful to our Heavenly Father. It especially calls for thanksgiving that He has given us the grace and the grit to hold on with a steadfast purpose to our time-honored, though unpopular system, when a falling away to "new things" might have brought us into more prominence and gratified a natural ambition for display. For this tenacity to right principle, regardless of outside pressure and the desire for applause, evinces the fact that we cared more for truth than for popularity, and that we were content to remain in the background, rather than barter the scriptural, and time-honored methods of our educational system of religion, for the modern inventions which promised notoriety and applause. We believe that in the end the educational system will prevail.

Let us render thanksgiving to God that He has given us this noble system, and that we have been able, by His grace and Spirit, to preserve it amid the din and turmoil of conflicting parties, through the century whose triumphs we joyfully celebrate to-day.

VI

THE BENEVOLENT WORK OF THE PAST CENTURY IN THE REFORMED CHURCH.*

BY REV C. CLEVER, D. D.

THE benevolent work of the earlier years of this ecclesiastical century does not seem to speak very well for the charity and public spirit of our forefathers. They sang lustily, Thank God salvation is free, and then went to their farms and merchandise, intimating at least, that if God wanted the heathen to be converted, He would accomplish the task without any aid from the Pennsylvania Germans. They would have applauded to the echo that moderator who commanded young Carey to be silent upon the duty of Christians to attempt the spread of the Gospel among the heathen, saying, "Young man, sit down! When God pleases to convert the heathen He will do it without your aid or mine." We have no part or lot in the everlasting glory and honor of that piety, that prompted the establishment of the great missionary societies at the close of the last or in the earlier years of the present century. The Reformed Church in the United States did not cast in its lot with the different agencies which sprang up in the heart of the Christian Church, as an answer to the awful assaults made upon the citadel of Truth. When the Ark of God was in the hands of the Deistic Philistines, our Church folded its hands in a

*The contributions and struggles which characterized the Church in the establishment of its institutions of learning are not referred to in this article, since they are accessible to all in the two works prepared by Dr. Theodore Appel, entitled "College Recollections" and "The Beginnings of the Theological Seminary," and in "The History of Heidelberg College," by Dr. G. W. Williard.

slumber, that had about it the chill of death. We have no missionary heroes like Carey or Elliot or Martyn or Brainard. We have our Schlatter, but he died of a broken heart, being left severely alone by the Church which he loved so well, but which he could not arouse from its slumbers. There is no prominent Reformed name among the founders of the American Bible Society, the American Sunday-school Union or the American Tract Society, all of which had for their ends the bearing of the Gospel Message, out into the highways and hedges of this new world. It finally dawned upon a few elect spirits that a Christianity that did not drive its possessor to the work of saving the world had not been born from above, and could not in any way be made to square with that apostolic zeal which turned the world upside down. It had about it a heartless selfishness as remote from the spirit of Christ as the East is from the West.

At last the sound of the going in the tops of our mulberry trees indicated clearly that God was commanding us to move forward. The line of quiet reserve was to become the line of battle. The other branches of the Church were being stirred, and the leaves of the tree which are for the healing of the nations were falling upon blistered and bruised humanity. Men were going forth with a prayerful determination to conquer this new world for Christ. The Congregational, the Presbyterian, the Methodist and the Baptist Churches were the pioneers in this magnificent Home Missionary Work. Yankee snap proved too vigorous in this race with the slow-plodding Germans, whether marshalled under the banner of Zwingli or Luther. It planned the work and put the whole missionary machinery in motion, while the Germans were settling in their minds whether they should compete in this glorious campaign with their more energetic brethren or not.

As a Church we have had since the beginning an immense missionary field. Macedonian cries, however, have fallen upon our ears in vain. Fields crowned with harvests which should have stirred the souls of our whole communion, were left for

others to gather. As late as 1866 the President of the Board of Home Missions tells the General Synod at Dayton, "Doors of entrance for evangelical zeal stood widely open for us in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Pittsburg, Buffalo, Detroit, Chicago, Milwaukee, Cincinnati, Louisville, St. Louis, Omaha, New Orleans, not to enumerate a large list of smaller, but rapidly-growing cities, East and West, into which the Church was invited and where she might have found abundant ready material for rearing congregations and multiplying her numbers; but they stood open for the most part in vain. Either they were not entered at all, or the efforts and aid they demanded were so feebly put forth and so inadequately sustained by requisite pecuniary assistance, that but little was accomplished. It is sad and humiliating to refer to these facts and to reflect upon the irreparable losses which the Church has suffered in consequence of her apathy and neglect. But it is far more painful and humiliating to consider the inexcusable indifference thus betrayed to the spiritual interests of thousands who had the strongest filial claims to her parental sympathy and solicitude."

In 1819 the Home Mission work began to be organized. Men felt that the few individual efforts, which here and there disturbed the chill of indifference that had thrown its death-like stillness over all our borders, were not enough. Fragmentary efforts when properly crystalized and flashing with the divine-human light and love of the Saviour, could do far more than the same amount of energy scattered about loosely. The earlier records of the Society and the reports to the Synods are so incomplete that a tabulated statement is out of the question. In 1835 the Board of Home Missions reported that during the preceding year the startling amount of \$97.20½ had been contributed, and that \$54.31 had been expended, leaving a balance in the treasury of \$42.89½. When the Society had been in existence forty years it had expended \$36,223.00, or an average of about \$900 per year. In 1859, when the number of communicants were about 70,000, the treasurer reported about \$4,000, or about an average

of six cents per member; and this, it must be remembered, was when there were no Orphans' Homes or Foreign Missionary Societies, and only a very slim effort to do foreign missionary work. From this time on a new breath of missionary zeal seems to have fallen upon the Church. The forty years of wandering in the desert wastes of indifference and want of appreciation of the serious responsibilities which Almighty God had imposed upon us came to an end, and we prepared to go over into the promised land. In 1859 there were 21 stations and 20 missionaries under the care of the Board, and the amount of money raised was \$4,114.15. In 1866 there were 60 missionaries and 72 mission points under the care of the Board, and the Treasurer reported receipts from October 18, 1865, to November 25, 1866 amounting to \$14,026.81, and there was a balance in his hands, after all the debts had been paid, of \$116.59. This seemed also to have been a glorious season for church extension work. The Treasurer reports receipts from October 19, 1865, to November 19, 1866, amounting to \$12,752.49. The Home Missionary contribution of that year, including church extension, reached \$26,779.30, almost 25 cents per member. The following nine years there was necessitated a change in the policy of carrying forward our missionary work. It was the period when our prophets could not see eye to eye. They sank back into a condition of ecclesiastical anarchy, when there was no King in our Israel, but every man did that which was right in his own eyes, and regarded with holy discontent, that which his brother of the other side did, no matter how much the blessing of heaven rested upon him. Nobody seemed to care enough to gather together the statistical report of missionary success and expenditure. Synods and Classes formed boards, and in a sort of a go-as-you-please way the work survived, and it should be humbly acknowledged before that God who makes even the wrath of man to praise Him, with some degree of success. The Treasurer of the Church Extension efforts, which had been so prosperous, now finds it a hard task to keep things going. The receipts have

gone down. The \$12,752 of the years 1865-66 have dwindled to \$3,657 in the two years and a half, from 1872. The Treasurer is in debt nearly one thousand dollars, and nobody seemed to feel themselves responsible for his reimbursement.

This abnormal state of things could not continue any length of time. The General Synod at Baltimore, in 1884, appointed a committee to submit a plan by which the work of Home Missions for the entire Reformed Church shall be carried on more efficiently under the direct management of the Board of General Synod. On account of suspicions and jealousies, this sensible as well as constitutional requirement had to wait some time before its completion. But, as is well known in the Church, it has at last been accomplished, with promises of the most gratifying results.

In 1884, there were under the care of all the different boards and societies in the whole Church 142 missions, which were sustained for three years at a cost of \$77,989.79. In the preceding three years, 48 missions had been established, and the fund contributed by the Church had increased \$22,951.61, or an average of \$7,650 per year.

The report of the Board of Home Missions presented to the General Synod at Reading, Pa., reveals the fact that the work is enlarging and the Church is rising more and more to the opportunities which the love of Christ has put in its path. The time has passed by when we can content ourselves with simply gathering in those who are not willing to go into the other denominations. Work among the Hungarians has been abundantly blessed. Other nationalities are appealing to us, and their appeals are not in vain. Church extension seems to have taken on a new lease of life. The spirit of '65 and '66 has come back again, and men are beginning to see that new chapels can not be built upon promises. Missionary societies begin to assume proportions that promise untold blessings for the future. It has dawned upon some few of our lords of creation that we have some Dorcas' and Phœbes' in our Church, who, if given but half of a chance, will put a rattle into some of the old dry

bones of the valley of death that will have about it the thrill of the angelic song that disturbed the slumbering shepherds on the first Christmas morn. We have walked around these inheritances of ours doubting and fearing. It is for us now, with the shout of a king, to go up into them, for the Lord has given them unto us. With the resources that we have at hand, with the forces organized, and with the evidences of a divine purpose to make us a great people, to doubt would be disloyalty, to falter would be sin.

There are now under the control of the Board 137 missions. This is a falling off when compared with three years ago. It should be said, however, that the policy of the Board has been to push the missions into helping themselves as soon as possible, and cuts off a mission that does not give promise of future success. The amount of money contributed by the Church for the last three years was \$124,931 for missionary work, and \$24,872 for church building purposes. The Board has at last reached the sensible conclusion that only the best men should be sent into mission fields, and that no missionary money is so well spent as the difference required to support such a man in a mission and one of those whose position is the result of pity or favoritism. A well paid missionary will bring back into the treasury of the Board a hundred fold; while one who can be had cheap will in the end prove a burden and an absolute loss to the Church.

A bird might as well try to fly with one wing as for a church to expect to prosper with but one form of missionary activity. That individual Christian, who, with a consequential air favors only home missions, has separated ruthlessly what the Lord joined together in a holy estate, and upon which He pronounced heaven's choicest benediction. The salvation of the Sandwich Islander, or of a swarthy spirit of Ethiopia, sends as much of a thrill of joy through the courts of heaven as one who steps into the Church from a gilded palace on Fifth Avenue or from one of the fashionable up-town clubs. The Lord proposed that his ambassadors should go out into all the world and tell the story of Jesus and His love. It

was not very long after the organization of the Board of Home Missions in the Reformed Church before men began taking a wider view. In the proclamation of the Gospel of eternal salvation mountains must vanish away, and in anticipation of that grander revelation of power and love, there dare be no more sea. It must ever be regretted, however, that the Foreign Missionary spirit did not stir in the heart of our Church in the days of the heroic period of Foreign Missionary work. When the work of Foreign Missions began to assume a living form, the Home Mission work said: Brother, where thou goest I will go, and where thou stayest I will stay, thy success shall be my success, and when thou diest I will die, and then and there I will be buried.

While the Synod was in session in Lancaster on the 29th day of September, 1838, the Board of Foreign Missions was organized. There seemed to be an amount of enthusiasm engendered, which gave great hope for succeeding usefulness. Heiner, Berg, Zacharias, Wolf and Ziegler each agreed to raise \$120 apiece. The Synod pledged itself to raise \$945 for the cause. The Rev. Diedrich Willers was President, Rev. Elias Heiner was Vice-President, Rev. Bernard C. Wolf was Corresponding Secretary, Rev. John Cares, Recording Secretary, and John J. Mayer, Treasurer. These were men of good report among the brethren, and the incense of their heroism and sacrifice still lingers around our altars to encourage those who have come after them. The Church did not feel herself able to stand alone. It was content to be a hand-maid to a Board which had reached its majority in this species of work. The American Board, which has always been carried forward in the widest spirit of charity, agreed to become the almoner of our benevolence. One of their missionaries, Rev. Benjamin Schneider, was loaned to us, and we agreed to support him. After several years he returned to the Church of his first choice, and remained a faithful servant of Christ under our banner till the day of his death. In 1845, \$1,568 were raised for this sacred cause. It was in 1840 when our church began

to send her contributions to the American Board, which it continued to do till 1865. In these 25 years there was contributed the sum of \$27,986.99. There has never been any particular acknowledgment of this expenditure, on the part of our Church, in the interest of the spread of Christianity in Turkey. It was but a trifle when compared to some of the more splendid offerings laid upon the common altar for this work. It, however, kept alive the spirit, and formed a comfortable nucleus for that revival of foreign work which began in the year 1873. In 1860 there was a growing self-consciousness, that could not be satisfied any longer in such a dependent position. Men baptized with the spirit of the Christ who was to have the heathen for an inheritance, insisted upon entering upon a wider field of activity and usefulness. After five years of correspondence and committee meetings and resolutions, the Synod decided to establish a mission of its own. The last money was paid into the treasury of the American Board, October 9, 1865. For thirteen years the Foreign Missionary spirit showed itself in a small annual offering for its cause. It remained in the hands of the treasurer until these tidbits and the interest which accrued thereon amounted to \$5,296.39. It was hardly to be expected that a Church without a mission or a missionary, and only the vaguest idea of any aggressive operations, would bring large offerings into the treasury of the Lord. In the meantime, a slight aid had been extended to the German Evangelical Missionary Society, which carried forward a work in Bismampore, India, under the care of one of our ministers, Rev. Oscar T. Lohr, formerly assisted by another of our brethren, Rev. Jacob Houser.

In the year 1873, the Board began to bestir itself again. Japan was selected as the country for future operations. The Church was asked for men and money. It was not till five years later that any definite work was undertaken. At a meeting of the Board in Harrisburg, September 30, 1878, Rev. Ambrose D. Gring was elected missionary, and the Board was authorized to furnish him with the necessary outfit, and send

him forth to Japan. The missionary and his wife reached their place of destination in June, 1879. The first year thereafter the Church contributed \$2,933.10, the second year \$5,094.06, the third year \$8,516.91. On the 13th day of March, 1883, Rev. J. P. More and wife were chosen to labor in the same field. In 1884 Rev. William E. Hoy was chosen as another worker. On the 21st of April, 1885, the Board elected two lady missionaries, Miss Lizzie R. Poorbaugh and Miss Mary B. Ault; but owing to a want of funds, they did not sail for Japan until June, 1886. The wisdom of this latter movement was exemplified in the increased interest among the women of the Church. The Board had expressed the hope in its first triennial report, several years before, "that the women of the Reformed Church will soon come to the aid of the good cause, and as a sex endeavor to assist in rescuing the women of Japan from their heathen degradation." The sending of some of our sisters stirred the hearts of the women. And if our brethren can get away from some of the fossilized ideas of the centuries that are gone and get into the nineteenth century, and give three-fourths of the consecrated energy of our Church a chance, the most extravagant expectations from womans' aid will be more than realized.

The Church stood with bated breath at the work already done, and the boundless waste of heathenism and idolatry that opened up before it. Paul's Macedonian cry had become a mighty tempest of wail and woe, bidding us come over and help. The Board, with some misgiving, but in faith, agreed to send out another missionary family. The laborers in that white harvest field were fainting under the burden of the sheaves that were being gathered. The harvest grew in whiteness and readiness for the sickle. At a meeting of the Board, held July 6, 1887, arrangements were made to send out Rev. D. B. Schneder and wife. In 1891, after the Woman's Missionary Society stepped forward and assumed the support of an additional lady missionary, the way was opened for sending out Miss Mary Hallowell, of Chambersburg. Let this heroic

undertaking of the women of the Reformed Church stand as a testimony to their pluck and courage when the crisis comes. In 1892, Rev. H. K. Miller was commissioned and sent forward to this outpost, so ably manned and womaned thus far, and crowned with such eminent success. When he was sent the funds were not at hand, but some heavenly instinct prompted the Board to appeal to the Sunday-schools. The amount needed was forthcoming speedily. The first triennial report of the Treasurer shows receipts amounting to \$16,000; the second, \$17,000; the third, \$25,000; the fourth, \$42,000; the fifth, \$61,000.

Timid spirits sometimes fear that the Board has allowed its feelings to run away with its judgment. The Church holds its breath when the Board asks for \$90,000 during the next three years. Be it said reverently, in the face of all the facts, that men under but a faint inspiration of that Almighty Christ, whose right it is to rule all and have all, could not have done otherwise. To halt now would be to fly in the face of providential facts which are as plainly marked before us as the passage through the Jordan before the Israelites, who stood on the other side. To linger now would be disloyalty to our Captain who has gone before us. To hesitate to lay upon the altar these reasonable amounts required at our hands will be to go back to the spirit of the times when the Reformed Church had neither mission nor missionary. A calm, dispassionate Christian contemplation of all the successes and failures, the encouragements and difficulties, compels us to go forward. To falter is disloyalty to Christ. To insist that we cannot raise the funds needed for our foreign work will be to incur the sin of Ananias and Sapphira. The work, however, will not be accomplished by a folding of the hands to sleep, but by apostolic courage and daring.

THE SOCIETY FOR THE RELIEF OF MINISTERS AND THE
WIDOWS OF DECEASED MINISTERS.

This is the oldest charitable institution of the Reformed

Church in this country. It was organized about the year 1792, but was not incorporated till the 26th day of March, 1810. In 1755, under the fostering care of the mother church of Holland, there was a fund raised for the support of the widows of deceased Reformed ministers. In this early time, considerable sums were raised and forwarded to those who had come out as helpmeets to the ministers who had brought the gospel to the poor Germans, driven out by the cruel persecutors who desolated the home of our blessed Reformed Church in the Fatherland. During the Revolutionary struggle moneys were sent over for this purpose in sums ranging from \$57 to \$228 at a time. In 1793, when the Reformed Church in the United States attained its majority, and began to stand upon its own privileges and prerogatives, the Synod organized a Society for the Relief of Disabled Ministers and the Widows of Deceased Ministers. Though these early benefactions were very limited, yet oftentimes the wolf was kept from the door while the old disciple, no longer able to buckle on the armor, watched the conflict from afar, while he waited for the bliss of dying in Christ. On the 10th day of March, 1810, a charter was granted by the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. The charter officers of the society were John Henry Helfrich, President; Philip Pauli, Vice-President; Samuel Helfenstein, Secretary; George Geistweit, Assessor; William Hendel, Treasurer. The earlier efforts of the society seem to have been expended in caring for the faithful widows that had cast in their lot with the sainted heroes who traveled far and wide, in trackless forests, to break the bread of life to the scattered children of the King. It was chartered under the style and title of the Society of Guardians for the Relief of the Widows of the German Reformed Clergymen. These men did not seem to think it was necessary to provide for a day when they could no longer preach the gospel. Their principle was to wear out, not to rust out. Being chartered as an institution entirely within the bounds of Pennsylvania, and with but a limited extent of usefulness, it nearly died out. In 1832 the membership was reduced to only

four. The matter was brought to the attention of the Synod at Frederick, that same year. These faithful men requested the appointment of a committee who should confer with them as to the proper distribution of the funds in their hands. Nothing was done till the Synodical meeting at Easton, during the following year, when a committee was appointed to confer with the incorporators, and request them to transfer the funds in their hands to the Theological Seminary, then located at York, Pa. A meeting of the committee and the incorporators was held, and after much earnest discussion it was decided to refer the whole matter to the next meeting of the Synod, to be held at Pittsburg, in 1834. At this meeting it was decided to continue the society, and a committee was appointed, of which the Rev. B. C. Wolf was Chairman, to carry out the wishes of the Synod.

In 1835, when the Synod met at Chambersburg, there seems to have been a new life infused into the society. Many of the ministers became life or contributing members, by paying the amount prescribed by the charter. A new charter was drafted, and by the incorporators thought to have been properly passed by the regularly constituted authorities. The apparent revival did not continue very long. There was a heavy falling from grace. In 1849, when all the other benevolent operations of the Church were entering upon a new life, this society also felt the thrill of benevolence which was shaking the whole Church. The members of the society did not yet realize that they were working under the old charter. Finally, in 1865, an appendix was added to the old charter, which enabled the society to widen the sphere of its influence and enlarge the amount of money that it was allowed to hold. The progress of the society in the last twenty-seven years has been marked; but the most rapid strides have been made within the last few years. A few faithful servants, like Drs. W. M. Deatrick and E. V. Gerhart, Revs. T. F. Hoffmeier and S. S. Miller, have ding-donged away at the Church till it has at last thrown off its drowsiness and discovered that its first-born has been cold and naked, and by kind

resolutions it has said, "Be ye warmed and fed," but has not provided the wood for the fire and the wool for the clothing. The last General Synod, so far as I can see, was the first to recognize the society and put it before the Church as worthy of the same confidence and benevolent consideration as Home or Foreign Missions, or any other charity that challenges us to bring tithes and offerings into the store-house of the Lord. After seventy-two years, the invested funds of the society amounted to the paltry sum of \$5,000. The old war-horses were turned out to die upon the arid common, dependent upon the cold charities of the world. When the Government began to take such good care of the soldiers who had lost their health in the awful struggle of '61 and succeeding years, as well as the widows of those who had poured out their life's blood in the struggle, a sense of shame began to creep over the Church. Shall the nation deal more kindly with its defenders than the Church? Shall their generosity outstrip those who are commanded to do good unto all men, especially unto those who are of the household of faith? An awakened conscience answered, "No! never!" It had about it a ring of positiveness and determination which did not entirely fall upon callous consciences. That there has been some new spirit put into the Church as to its responsibility toward those who have given up their all for it, is evidenced by the increased contributions. During the last seven years there have been received from all sources \$41,654.18. The society has to-day about \$80,000 invested, from which an annual interest is collected. There are two score and ten persons receiving aid from the society, in such sums as the state of the treasury will warrant, and as the needs of the individuals demand. During the last year there was received, through collections from the whole Church, \$5,275.41; from miscellaneous sources, \$555.41; from interest on investments, \$5,712; from donations, \$2,266; making a grand total of \$13,809.69. It is enough to make some of us older brethren sing the Long Meter Doxology to think that the Church has waked up at last to the righteous duty of providing for those who have grown so old in

the service of the Church that they cannot labor any more, and when another girds them, and yet are too young for the everlasting courts of glory. The reports of the officers are healthy and hopeful. There is an awakened interest among ministers and people. If giving a cup of cold water in the name of a prophet shall bring down a prophet's reward, how much more when a prophet is sheltered and clothed and fed? One of the most earnest and devoted friends of the society says, in a private letter: "In the good providence of God I am thankful that this oldest charitable institution, coming down to us from the past, once almost wrecked, is now in a good, solid condition, with the brightest hope before it, if the Church will foster it and care for it as it deserves." A Church that will not provide for its own, when they have laid out all their strength in its interests, is worse than an infidel. Remember them who have labored well for you, and see that the mellowing light of an unobtrusive charity like this shall come in to sweeten the waiting hours when the fiery chariot seems to delay in its coming.

There has been no sphere of our benevolent work which has been undertaken so much in faith as our care of the orphans. The fatherless have not been forgotten. Our Church has felt it its bounden duty and pleasure to see that those who belong to God shall not want any good thing. Among the founders of these homes have been men that exemplified the same intense faith as George Müller, Philip Wichern or Pastor Fliednér. When the romance of the charities of the new world shall be written, the names of Boehringer, Gantenbein, Heisler and Albright will find a place side by side with Passavant and others whose names fill a wide space in the benevolent horizon of the century.


Bethany Orphans' Home was started in a very humble way in 1863 by a now sainted minister of the Reformed Church. Although very poor himself, but with a faith that can remove mountains, he took an orphan into his own family. The number began to increase, and friends came from the most unexpected quarters. A property was secured at Bridesburg, Pa.,

which, under the faithful direction of noble Christian heroes, served as a home till 1867. Although the home was started here without a single dollar, yet in 1881, the home in the meantime having been removed to Womelsdorf, the president of the Board of Managers could report that \$45,000 had been raised, besides what had been contributed toward current expenses. The property was then free of debt. When theological controversy had 'destroyed our unity on every other form of benevolence, the orphans' homes still bound us together. The appeal of cold and hungry children who had been given to God in holy baptism by sainted parents who had loved the Reformed Church unto the death, was always distinctly heard, amid the crash of theological battle. This was oil on the troubled waters. Here the brethren could see eye to eye. Enthusiasm here did not provoke a scintillation of suspicion or jealousy. Here our religion was pure and undefiled.

On the night of Nov. 11, 1882, the Bethany Orphans' Home went up in smoke and blinding flame. In all the history of the century there has not been a heartier response than to the appeal then made to the Church. While the smoke was still smouldering in the ruins, by telegraph and letter there came promises of help. The heart of the Church was stirred, and there was an outpouring of benevolence such as the camp of Israel experienced when the great leader requested funds for the construction of the tabernacle. Fifteen thousand dollars, in addition to the expenses incurred in running the home, was raised in the space of two years. There have been times when this stream of benevolence became a little sluggish; but the rapid flow has soon been enjoyed again. Eighteen thousand dollars has been expended on Santee Hall. The present superintendent, though a David in stature, yet a Saul in faith, says, "We had but very little money to begin this enterprise, but the whole amount was fully paid within six months after the building was occupied by the orphans." The home has now one hundred and six orphans, and the expenses have been thus far promptly met. The Christmas receipts for the current ex-

penses last year were \$5,000, the largest contribution from the same source in the history of the home. The president of the Board of Managers, speaking of a needed investment, requiring thousands of dollars, says: "The Board bought this property as an act of faith, without having one hundred dollars towards its payment. The Father of the fatherless raised up friends among the living and the dying to pay for it. Thus far its history has revealed a series of marvellous providences. Hitherto the Lord hath helped us, and we trust Him for the future." The history of the Orphans' Home at Butler, Pa., presents a like glow of benevolence. The Christian sympathy of the Reformed Church of the western portion of the old Keystone State and of the Buckeye State, has flowed into the treasury of the Lord for the care of the orphans with all the copiousness of one of their prosperous oil wells. In 1867 St. Paul's Orphans' Home was established by St. Paul's Classis, but it was not chartered by the State till 1888. It is now under the control of the Pittsburgh Synod. One of the reports says, "It was founded in faith and has been successfully carried forward under the blessing of God." During the three years preceding the meeting of the General Synod at Lebanon, in 1890, the sum of \$47,500 had been expended. The Church contributes annually about \$2,000 towards the support of the sixty-five orphans in the home. There have been as high as 180 orphans in the home at one time, and yet there was room. The property of the home now is valued at \$50,000, upon which there is an indebtedness of \$10,000; but a report of the Board says provisions are being made to pay this off gradually. Nearly five hundred orphans have been sheltered, clothed and educated in the home since its establishment.

For quite a long while there was felt a need of wider efforts to provide for the fatherless children. It was a vain thing to pray that God would provide for the fatherless children, when a trifle of our extravagance would clothe and feed all the poor and hungry within our borders with a bountiful supply of toothsome fragments for these who are homeless in more senses than one.



With but a little moral support and encouragement from the General Synod, the German Synod of the Northwest and the Central Synod started another Orphans' Home in Fort Wayne, Ind. In 1883 this new charity sprang into existence, when the same faith that prompted Bethany and St. Paul's, and carried them forward with such eminent success, was found to be stirring west of the Ohio River. The faith of our Reformed brethren did not chill when it climbed over the Alleghenies. However exalted into the chilling altitudes through which it passed, it came down to the homely task of Christian duty, and in the face of all the mad rush of western progress, gathered together the children who were crying for bread, and, above all, for the Bread of everlasting life. A farm was at once purchased for \$7,000. Before the most enthusiastic promoters of this child of the West had time to recover their breath, in 1884 a house was erected at a cost of \$10,000. Seven years afterwards an addition was needed, and it was pushed to completion at once, at a cost of \$8,000. More land was purchased and broader foundations were laid. The property on hand to-day is worth between \$50,000 and \$60,000. The total expenditures to date have been \$103,344.65. The liabilities are only \$10,000. There have been 114 orphans in the Home, and there are to-day 57 children under its friendly shelter. Well may the treasurer of the Board exclaim with a just pride,—Come and see. Before such a magnificent display of Christian munificence, we may excuse an occasional anxiety, lest the General Synod may not acknowledge the self-supporting spirit of the Germans and impose upon them a rather more than fair share of the financial burdens of the Synod. Sheboygan among the literary institutions, and Fort Wayne among the orphans' homes, prove what German faith can do when once put to the task. There is everywhere in our orphans' homes an enlargement of operations, wider influence, more efficient administration and a multiplicity of endeavors that show a predominating influence of that faith which turned the world upside down, and is a standing answer to that supercilious confidence with

which old and dead unbeliefs, after their attempted revivification are paraded by the unsanctified wit and wisdom of these later centuries.


Standing, then, upon the threshold of another century, we may well look at the favorable winds filling our sails, as we commit ourselves to the seething, surging life of the twentieth century. Shall we, dare we stand timidly upon the shore and be contented to watch the heroic sailors, under other banners, committing their missionary barks to the flowing tide, fairly dancing with divine-human possibilities? Need we timidly face the open doors of golden promise, which have been suddenly swung back by some of the most favoring gales of heaven inviting us to enter in? Need our spiritual children cry for bread, and we give them a stone or shut our ears to their pleadings? Nay, verily, we cannot recover the ground that has been lost, but by the blessing of God we can prevent the historian of the second century of our benevolent work from charging us with indifference, and compel him to award us some meed of praise in helping onward that grand triumph of Christianity, which is certainly lingering about our doors.

We have now a settled policy. Anarchy and confusion have given way to common sense, instinct with spiritual power, born from above. Scattered energies have coalesced, and the tidal wave of peace is leveling barriers which hitherto prevented a real trial of our strength. Our hosts are gathered together. Our scattered talents are being gathered into our treasury, and the result is encouraging. The policy of the Church is to carry forward its work, under the management of Boards, with a cosmopolitan spirit, generous enough to provide with Christian care for all parts of the Church. The General Synod's requests are generally respected, and the Church everywhere feels that we are united in our benevolent work. There is an occasional squirm that shows the slimy folds of an obstreperous eel, that cannot be held within proper bounds. But the great heart of the Church to-day beats in a unison that augurs well for a consummate effort to fulfill the duties that devolve upon us before God and

man. Then, again, we are beginning to realize that we can do something worthy of the generous benevolence that has characterized other denominations. We need not wonder that our church is not known. It is a mortification that but few speakers, when referring on a public platform to church work, mention our Reformed Zion. Our benevolent work has not been significant enough to make itself felt. But that reproach is beginning to roll away from us. The mist may linger still for awhile upon the loftiest mountain tops; but we are going up into our inheritance and the mist must roll away. The faith of the different Boards in undertaking larger fields will not be in vain. The Church has begun to realize that it can and must do great things for God. It has inscribed upon its banner—Expect great things from God and do great things for God! It stands before big trees crowned with golden fruitage, and it is bound to pluck it, though it requires courage and daring of a godly sort. We are finding out that we can endow colleges and seminaries, we can send missionaries into vacant fields, we can rely upon the Church to contribute moneys for honest efforts to hasten the millennial dawning. We can, according to our numbers, wealth and intelligence, accomplish as grand results as other churches which have assumed much more marked proportions. May the time be at hand when no public orator, when enumerating the churches doing a noble work for Christ, dare to omit the Reformed Church in the United States!

We are awakening to a sense of the responsibility that we have a mission. Our eyes have been too long upon the past. We have been living upon the theological triumphs of a half century ago. It has been regarded as our special province to be the watch dog of the ecclesiastical treasury, so that no false theological coin might get into circulation. But this kind of business would never bring the world to the pierced feet of the triumphant Saviour. We have criminally left the conversion of the cities, which are to-day the controlling centres of influence, thought and life, to the generous impulses of others. We have been so busy with theological speculation that we have forgotten

that we, with all the Israel of God, are to go into all the world and preach the Gospel. This is now all being changed. Theory is being put into practice, our architectonic theology is coming out of the school and the seminary, and is touching the hurrying world that is lying all around us. Our ministers and people are coming into touch more and more with the intensely practical problems which have turned the closing years of this century into a huge interrogation point. Upward and onward, and outward, and skyward, and seaward, our banner floats. And with the unfurling of its gracious folds, a thankful people hurry into the conflict, ready to wipe out the foul assumption that there is a single place or people, where we cannot work for Christ, or that there is a problem propounded by any class in any condition to which we cannot give a reasonable answer. If all these promises fail, and these prophecies become as the sounding brass and tinkling cymbal, then the spirit of Zwingli and Calvin is dead, and their spiritual followers are bastards and not sons. In a country that boasts of a Bunker Hill, a Valley Forge, a Yorktown, but above all of a Gettysburg, where heroism sanctified every foot of ground over which the blue and gray met in mortal combat, I cannot believe that the Church of the Martyrs, the Church of Cappel, the Church of the Hollanders, who would drown their land beneath the sea rather than allow it to fall into the hands of the alien, the Church of the Huguenots, which defied an empire rather than cast a pinch of incense into the flame of a papal censer, is not brave enough to do and to dare for that Christ, whom it theologically so royally honors.



VII.

THE TRUE AIM OF IDEAL EDUCATION.

BY REV. A. S. WEBER, A.M.


ASIDE from her deep interest in the propagation of the Gospel through missionary effort, and her zealous endeavor to bring about the reunion of a divided Christendom, the American Church of our day shows no signs of life more hopefully vigorous than those of her educational activity. This gratifying activity, intense and widely distributed, is due largely to a better appreciation of the meaning of true education, and a more earnest purpose to furnish succeeding generations better facilities for meeting the design of life. In part, however, it is due also to a measure of needed protection,—protection against errors, which, like insidious diseases, are eating into the very vitals of our civilization, and threatening to lower the standard of our manhood.

The large degree of outward prosperity which has attended the labors of our people has brought with it some of these errors, and greatly stimulated the inveterate vitality of others. The opportunities afforded by the present day, and especially by our country, for material progress and speedy wealth, have never before been so numerous and alluring. Under their influence, it is felt, far too many are constantly led to worship the *means*, and to forget the *ends* of life. In the matter of education, this influence is seen in the urgency with which is pressed the abridgement of the period allotted to its acquisition, so that youngest years possible may be given to the rush and bustle accompanying the pursuits and duties of active modern life. This makes the rapidly increasing area of the field of

knowledge and the old and well-tried curriculum of collegiate studies,—at once eminently interesting and attractive to minds appreciating their significance and value,—repellent often to those who stand in greatest need of attempting the survey of the one, and the mastery of the other. It makes popular also the “short-cut” courses of training “specialists”—courses whose studies are chosen, not with a view of furthering the ends of true education, but for so-called “practical” purposes. They promise speedy material returns, and, accordingly, have a strong tendency to entice the unwary into their dwarfing, and therefore, to right-thinking people, forbidding paths.

Conscious of the dangerous trend of these and similar errors, and concerned about the welfare of our future citizens, the Church has done well in arousing herself to greater assiduity in the prosecution of the educational work so largely entrusted to her. Only at the expense of her innocency before the Master could she have purchased exemption from the responsibility of performing this duty. “When by cold penury,” Burke says in one of his polished dissertations, “I blast the abilities of a nation, and stunt the growth of its active energies, the ill I may do is beyond all calculation.” Should the Church allow the cold materialism of external prosperity, or the colder utilitarianism of false educational theories to prevail, the mental abilities of our people would be blasted, their moral and spiritual energies would be stunted, and the resultant ill would likewise be beyond the power of human calculation.

Now, when saying this, it should be remembered that the Church never ceases to bless God for having made possible to our people the achievement of such splendid results in the way of mechanical and material progress; that she contemplates with profound gratitude the noble work done by “specialists” in the various scientific and industrial walks of life; and that she heartily commends diligence and thrift in the management of the public and private affairs in which our people are interested. Her contention is not against material prosperity, devotion to special work, or the acquisition of competence or



fortune; but against the making of these the all-inclusive, the all-absorbing business and purpose of earthly existence. She should deplore to an extent beyond the power of language to express, to see a still larger proportion of our citizens under the power of false notions concerning the ends of life, and the aims of education, carried away into the wretched and lamentable onesidedness of character, which alas! is already too common. What a nation we should be if all were "specialists," having their lives narrowed down to the thinking and doing of some particular thing, or if all were worshipers simply of cities and railways, of manufacture and commerce, of scientific discovery and invention, of banks and bonds! The poet who insists that—

"By the soul
Only, the nations shall be great and free,"

teaches an eternal truth, and believing the truth taught, should not feelings of patriotism,—not to mention higher motives, which, at least, parents and pastors must know,—constrain men everywhere to applaud the Church's desire to rear increasing multitudes of men known and glorying to be known for their souls,—men whose pride is not outward possession or moneyed power, but in well-rounded, thoroughly-furnished, divinely-inspired manhood; men who think, if not less about things transitory and perishable, certainly more about having their divinely-given capacities, faculties and powers so filled and cultivated, so under rational self-control and in subjection to God, as to make the men themselves what image-bearers of the Deity should be, nay, must be, if their mission here is to be accomplished, their destiny hereafter attained. Towards the realization of this desire there is nothing, it is confidently believed, that can make so large and lasting a contribution, as the establishing of the true aim in the pursuit of ideal education. Hence the new and fervid zeal with which this cause is everywhere being pressed upon the attention of those who can give assistance in advancing the work begun, to its proper goal.

What this true aim of ideal education is, has been often

asked? It has been frequently answered, also by the wisest and best of the world's teachers. These answers might be gathered, with some interest and profit no doubt, but they would hardly be accepted as a satisfying reply by those who in our times are anew making inquiry. Just as progress in theological thought from age to age demands the restatement of the doctrines of the Christian faith, so in the realm of education are there constantly recurring necessities for the restatement of what may be called educational doctrines,—for the setting forth in present-day terms of the aim toward which the activities of a true educational policy should be directed.

The limits to which the restatement now attempted must be confined allow the consideration of only the two main factors ever to be insisted upon, as entering into a true educational aim. The one of these we have learned to designate by the word *liberal*. The term is trite, I know, and hard-worn by the constant service it has been made to render. But it has never yet ceased to represent a necessity that is signally vital and important in the theory and practice of ideal educational work.

According to the definition given by the most generally quoted of our lexicographers, an education is liberal if the studies which go to constitute it are "extended beyond the practical necessities of life." It is plain, of course, that a liberal education must include more than the elementary branches pertaining to practical necessities,—and that is a truth not unworthy of notice under this view. But it is evident also that many a one, having had the advantage of such instruction, is not by reason of that fact merely, entitled to be called a liberally-educated individual. In other phrase, it is not the acquisition of facts simply from an extensive field of knowledge, that means liberal training. Much of the popular practice in schools goes upon the principle that impartation of knowledge is the primary end to be reached by them. Such schools, says a German writer, "do not educate, they only teach: do not train, they only instruct." And Herr Wilhelm Balsehe, the Berlin critic, in a recently published paper, indig-

nantly observes that, "such crude methods are followed only by 'untaught teachers,' whose cramming, torturing tactics tend to make martyrs" of their pupils, rather than rightly-trained and broadly-cultivated men. The free and full development of many of the mental faculties is repressed by this practice, and the result is almost directly contrary to that essayed by the true system of generous culture.

This is felt by those who apply the word liberal to the effect produced upon the several faculties and energies of the mind, rather than to an extensive range of study, by the use of which their discipline is sought. The conception of education held by them is obtained from the suggestions of its etymological meaning. For them the true aim of education is "the educating or drawing forth of all that is potentially in man; the training of all the energies and capacities of his being to the highest pitch, and the directing of them to their true ends." Their favorite type of this process is that of the sculptor, by which he brings the statue out of the rude block of marble. The tools needed to educe the beautiful form of symmetrical manhood are the arts and sciences, the histories and philosophies of past generations. These, brought into contact with the powers and faculties potentially present in the persons to be educated, draw out the same from their native weakness and imperfections into the strength and beauty and individuality which are to be their own. Under the liberalizing power of the educative touch of a sufficiently wide range of study the mind, as a whole, is given the power for which it is intended. The man is enabled to think for himself, and accordingly to form judgments and to perform actions with the utmost efficiency.

It will be seen at once that in this latter view there is more commending it to our approbation than in the former. The acquisition of thoroughly-trained mental faculties is something more and better by a great deal than the possession merely of vast stores of knowledge, even though that knowledge be gathered from the broad fields of language and mathematics, of history and biography, of natural science and art, of philosophy

and theology. To be qualified by educational training to think for one's self is a long step in the direction of the liberalization of a man's entire being, of his deliverance from the darkness and the ills to be encountered in life by him. Among the many wise reflections in "*Sartor Resartus*" none is wiser than that which offers itself as not inappropriate here: "Truly a thinking man is the worst enemy the prince of darkness can have; every time such a one announces himself, I doubt not there runs a shudder through the nether empire; and new emissaries are trained with new tactics to, if possible, entrap him." Under any theory, or in any system of education, the achievement of such results, as thinking men, would go far toward justifying its aim and methods as worthy of wide adoption.

The full purpose and highest aim of liberal culture should not be realized, however, by the making of this view the one to be exclusively accepted and universally followed. There is something nobler and better, something worthier of human aspiration, in the theory which rightfully claims that "the grand design of education—certainly of liberal education—is to educe or draw us out of our native individualism into the common humanity, and that the most thoroughly educated—be their knowledge more or less—are those who have experienced the most of that humanizing process through which our views are continually more and more directed to that destiny and that knowledge which pertain to man as man, in distinction from that which concerns him in his individual, partial, and professional relations." Those who will pause to reflect upon the lofty ideal held up to our view by this theory, must soon discover that it is not a mere dream, but a very real and nobly worthy aim that is thus proposed for educational guidance. If in all our effort in the direction of human training its suggestions were truly followed, the intellect, it will be observed, would be informed, the sensibilities cultivated, the will given righteous direction—conserving in this way all that is aimed at by either or both of the other theories—and in addition there would result immeasurably more. Our individual and national

life would soon rejoice under the benediction of what has been called "a fuller and more harmonious development of our humanity, greater freedom from narrowness and prejudice, more wealth of thought, more expansive sympathies, feelings more catholic and humane." This means that the centre around which the human universe is accustomed to revolve would be changed. The individual would find that the loss involved in projecting itself into the broad current of the common life of humanity meant in the end its greatest possible gain. Its highest, its noblest, its best self would thus be realized. From an educational point of view, even as from a moral and religious, it is true that "whosoever shall seek to save his life shall lose it, and whosoever shall lose his life shall preserve it."

At this point, however, the other factor to be noticed as entering into the true aim of ideal education is met with, and may be designated by the word *Christian*. The loftiest aim which has been suggested by philosophic speculation to guide education finds itself in this position, namely—its truthfulness, remains unchallenged, yet of itself it has neither the motive nor power to give, by which men can realize what it points out to them. In other words, the theory involves more than can be supplied by any system, or institution, or teacher, apart from Christ and Christianity. So long as men fail to recognize this truth, or fail to introduce the Christian element into the aim of their educational efforts, so long must they fail also of attaining to the loftiest ideal that can govern men seeking generous culture for the individual in the interests of the race. Those who are Christ's disciples—learners of Him under a system that makes real account of the Christian factor in its aim—"shall know the truth, and the truth shall make them free;" and those made free by Him who is the Truth "shall be free indeed." Any system doing less, in the way of liberalizing effect upon human life, than that which is implied in the freedom promised in these words of the great Teacher from heaven, comes so far short of helping aspiring men on towards the attainment of the destiny appointed for them.

What Thomas Arnold, during his days of earnest Christian effort at Rugby, said of his age and country, is equally true of our own: "Christianity has so colored all our institutions and all our literature, and has in so many points modified or even dictated our laws, that no one can be considered an educated man who is not acquainted with its authoritative documents;" and, it may be added, no one can be in touch with, or in the broad spirit of the highest and freest relations, purposes and privileges of life, who is not in vital fellowship with the Person in whom those documents centre, and without whom they have no meaning. What is to be aimed at, therefore, according to the ideal which the Church is endeavoring to emphasize in her educational activity, is not simply liberal culture, but liberal culture that is vitally Christian. The aim of education which bears this stamp, finds its motive and end not in abstract information, not in intellectual powers which are well equipped for practical ends, but in the totality of man's being lifted and ennobled under the inspiring influence of Truth incarnate—Truth grounded in a Person, vindicated in a Life.

Fancy fails of power adequately to depict the stupendous and hallowing transformation to be wrought by the general adoption of this true aim of ideal education in homes, in colleges and universities the land over. The errors alluded to as existing in our land and threatening our nobler life, will then not have long to wait for correction. The heavy burdens and ills under which so many are groaning, will then soon be removed. The unblushing iniquities now stalking about in the pride of conscious power will then speedily be destroyed. The perplexing social and economic problems, now clamoring for solution, will at once be solved. Men everywhere in their individual and social relations will be truly educated, and answer more nearly than now to the intellectual, moral and spiritual perfection of men full-grown "according to the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ."

VIII.

COLLEGE-NEED AND COLLEGE-NEEDS; AN APPEAL.

BY R. C. SCHIEDT.

WE are passing through a serious educational crisis at the present time. The heterogeneity of our national life has produced such a differentiation of purpose and multiplicity of opinions in matters educational that it seems utterly impossible to judge of the final outcome. This is especially true of our higher institutions of learning. The universities have entered upon their formative period; they are, if the comparison is allowed, half chrysalis and half image, still clinging to the curriculum of the traditional college, and yet step by step breaking away from its former inflexible limitations. History repeats itself: about two hundred years ago we find a similar crisis in the development of European universities. Here, however, the reverse took place, namely, a differentiation from the higher to the lower, *i.e.*, from the university to the preparatory college. But we must consider that the *universitas* of the continent as well as the *collegium* of England at first merely represented corporations; in the former case a combination of different nationalities or a *universitas personarum*, in the latter a body of colleagues. These corporations either confined themselves to the promotion of only one branch of learning, Salerno to medicine, Bologna to law, or to more than one; so Paris at first to philosophy and theology, the former including the trivium and quadrivium, afterwards, however, expanding into the faculties of the arts, philosophy, law and medicine. The faculty, or as it was first called, the university of the arts, was by far the most extensive


and influential, admitting boys at the age of twelve with a preparation not exceeding that of a common school, and keeping them until they had obtained the master's degree. At this stage of the development the university resembles somewhat the new American universities, with the exception that the latter claim to be a *universitas literaria* rather than a *universitas personarum*. The establishment of the lyceum in France, the gymnasium in Germany, and the grammar school in England, was an outgrowth of the department of arts in the universities. With the advancement of knowledge in the various spheres, especially under the influence of the revival of classic literature, a more thorough preparation became necessary for the entrance into the university, and the classic preparatory schools gradually multiplied as separate institutions. In the United States the universities are an outgrowth of the colleges, and it is but natural for them to retain, for the present, the original college curriculum as a part of their organization. But, as in the history of the European universities, the preparatory college had to become a distinct intermediate institution between the common school and the highest seats of learning; so must we also expect in the course of time, in this country, the complete separation of the pure college which carries on education for its own sake from the university. Each State will have at most two universities, in the sense of schools for specialists, with a large number of colleges scattered throughout the commonwealth whose sole purpose it will be to prepare young men for the various callings in life. It may be said, however, that different conditions naturally result in different developments, and that the increase in population requires an equivalent increase of universities. My reply is that, as far as the first objection is concerned, the central educational principle *i.e.*, the education of all of man's powers must always and under all conditions remain the same, and that if it is curtailed by a half college and half university curriculum, the welfare of society in general must suffer; in reference to the second objection, we must maintain that at least for the next century the increase in population will not be so enor-

mous as to require a large number of such universities in each State. One change, however, must be the inevitable consequence. Just as the university will have to concede some of its present work to the college, so the college will have to enter upon a much closer relationship to the academies or preparatory schools, because its success will depend upon the degree of preparation with which a young man or woman enters college. Denominational colleges will then become, to a large degree, what the University of Paris was at its beginning, comprising a department of arts, with preparatory branches, and perhaps a department of theology. The great question which is at present agitating the minds of all parties interested is, What shall be the proper domain of such a college?

Some of the most prominent educators maintain that the study of the natural sciences should be pre-eminent in a college curriculum, because this is pre-eminently a scientific age; others of equal authority emphasize exclusive classic culture as the royal road to the highest development of human personality. But in all discussions on the subject the unbiased observer unconsciously receives the impressions that personal preferences, grown out of the particular work of each man, guide the decisions; partisan spirit is the curse of all true progress. The final solution of this question can hardly be reached in our generation, and under our peculiar political and social circumstances all we can do is to concentrate all our powers upon the particular task given to us and to discuss this burning question with as much impartiality as possible.

When I ask the friends of Franklin and Marshall College to aid its scientific department in a more liberal way than has been done hitherto, they may justly demand an explanation of the requirements to which such an institution of learning may lay claim. In the introduction to this article I have endeavored to point out the position which our oldest institution of learning can reasonably be expected to hold for the next fifty years, *i. e.*, not that of a university, but that of a college in the true sense of the word. It is, therefore, of *college-need and college-needs* that I shall treat in the following discussion.

The two principles which deserve pre-eminent consideration in any system of preparatory education are the *subjective or linguistic* and the *objective or mathematico-scientific*. Language is the organ by which the character and spirit of a nation are manifested. Through the use of language the individual becomes a part of his nation; he becomes ingrafted into his nation's life. Language resembles the nervous system, which not only binds the individual organs together, but which subordinates all and each to the whole body, and that is only possible when every organ is surrounded by nerves. In language the ideal element of the people becomes real; it combines the abstract with the concrete, the spiritual with the historical. In it and by means of it all thoughts and aspirations of a nation are expressed and gathered up in order that all the individual members of the nation may freely partake of them. The child becomes a part of its nation by learning to speak its language in daily personal intercourse. National life thus permeates individual life. But whilst the child gains only concepts which relate mainly to the universal habits of daily social intercourse, of eating and drinking, of making and spending money; the student in a much higher sense, by coming in contact with the great writers of a people, enters into a relation to the great intellects who profoundly influences the development of humanity. The loftiest sentiments of a nation embodied in its great geniuses lift him up to purer and nobler views and more exalted principles, and mould his whole personality. Thus the student becomes inspired to penetrate towards brighter heights of knowledge and to struggle against the impulses coming from below, against the crude and blunt in his habits, against the immoral and licentious in his actions and words. He becomes master of his spiritual powers, more and more sensitive to the noble and beautiful in the writings of his nation, and at the same time capable of expressing his own thoughts and ideas in an acceptable form. Linguistic studies naturally bring a young man into right relation to his nation as a whole; he becomes an integral part of it. Thus it becomes clear to us why the educa-



tion of men and the study of languages have always been identified, why at a time when modern languages were yet in their infancy the study of classic languages constituted the only means of educating and ennobling humanity.

It therefore matters not how much a man may forget in after years, since we do not seek after quantitative knowledge, but after a qualitative principle. If we would have to retain all we once learned, we would be the most miserable creatures in the universe. Behold the queen of the forest, the proud cedar, lifting its crown majestically towards the clouds! Has it never produced branches near its roots? Certainly; it simply cast them off when they became superfluous; but its trunk and its crown, its whole proud stature still announces the work of its youth. In its crown are its roots. So has many a man who belonged to the greatness of his age forgotten what he once had learned; nevertheless unconsciously it became a part of himself, and thus he acquired his greatness.

But all linguistic education has one great defect which needs correction. It grows out of the fact that language, and all that is expressed especially by language, start in man. Language is almost exclusively subjective. A word which signifies an object does not interpret the nature of the object in itself, but only the impression which the object makes upon man. The word gold does not express any of the physical properties of that metal, but simply relates to something glittering. The same is true of all words relating to the sensuous, to magnitudes, judgments or similar concepts. What is large? What is small? What is fair? What is warm? What is beautiful? What is rich? What is fast? What is slow? The answers to these questions will be as different as the persons who give them. Those animals are called cold-blooded whose blood is a few degrees below the temperature of the blood of man. Small is that which, measured by the yard, foot or inch, makes such an impression upon man's mind. We may mention in this connection those expressions and idioms which have come down to us from former centuries and have gained such a foot-hold that they are still used, though it has

been proven long ago that they convey an entirely wrong meaning; *e. g.*, the rising and setting of the sun, the Orient and Occident, the celestial globe, our conception of the stars as stars, in the shape adopted symbolically by decorative art, and many others. And whatever is true of a single word is likewise true of whole sentences and constructions. An historian is expected to write nothing but facts and to base his conclusions upon facts. But read two representations of one and the same event given by two persons who endeavor to tell the truth, and nothing but the truth; how different in detail, how varied in conception and method of presentation will these two narrations be. Any competent judge is capable of distinguishing between Tacitus and Livy, between Xenophon and Thucydides. This goes to show that all linguistic presentation bears the colorite of its author. And not only the syntax discloses the mental peculiarities of the writer, but also the elementary forms, the manner in which nouns and verbs are inflected, clearly show the position of the writer in relation to the object or action or condition which the verb expresses. This phenomenon becomes especially apparent in all those linguistic products in which man is the inventor of the subject matter, and it finds nowhere a fuller expression than in schools of rhetoric and elocution. It is the aim of the art and skill of a true orator to work out the impression which an event makes upon man, and to present this and not the event itself, more especially to give the event his own individual interpretation and to show it to men only as he sees it. Language is admirably adapted to such treatment, for in it is most intimately interwoven the relation which exists between the event and man's conception of it. Every word which is uttered with regard to an event, either sad or joyful, expresses this relation, and of this has been taken advantage in all schools of oratory, both in ancient and in modern times, in the lecture room of the sophists, in the forum, in the pulpit, before juries, but especially, and perhaps in the most effective way, in the assembly halls of legislative bodies. I do not say too much, therefore, when I affirm that in every thing which


is expressed in the form of speech, that even in language itself, in its roots and inflections, in syntax, in all literary works, but especially in all productions of oratory and poetry, the starting point lies in man, and not in the subject matter itself. Observe a child and its mode of expression, and you will find that it refers everything back to itself; hence here originates the loveliness of a child's mind, but likewise its many defects and evils. You will notice that just herein lies the fragrance of the legend, the myth, the fairy story; but you will likewise not fail noticing that here also a rich source of error and fallacy, of perjury and calumny, is to be found. The overdue stress laid upon linguistic studies has resulted in flooding the intellectual market with an army of utterly impracticable men who are incapable of coping with the objective realities of life, who rather starve than seek employment outside of the intellectual sphere. And just here offers itself the most portentous problem of the modern college; namely, the problem to prepare young men in such a way as to not only enable, but encourage them to carry their classic learning out upon the highways of the mechanical arts.

It is therefore necessary that all linguistic instruction must be supplemented. And if there should be such a branch of instruction which has more than relative value which man can neither add to nor take away from, one would think that that would be the best means of education, that which Plato has sought in vain in his discourse on the state, that which should stand foremost in all education. Such a branch is mathematics, theoretical and applied. In language everything is for man and from man; in mathematics everything is without him and in spite of him; everything was before him, before he could perceive and think, and will continue to be even if he should not understand it any more. Here is no contradiction, no correction possible, for its theorems inscribed into and upon the universe, according to which all nature is constructed, are older than man and are universal and necessary truth. It is true, even mathematics does not reveal the thing in itself, the absolute. Kant has proved that we will never know the absolute, "das Ansichseiende;" but

whilst language works only through our senses, our feelings, our passions, mathematics knows nothing of these corrupting influences; it treats the ideal in its objectivity.

Language only *speaks* of the correctness of a thing, of a concept, of an affirmation; mathematics on the other hand *shows* us a *reality*, and therefore, awakens the sense for the actual, the real. Whatever has been created by language lives only as long as men live and reaches only as far as men dwell. But whatever is the product of nature, the creative as well as the created, law, beauty, truth and all that which mathematics reveal of her, lives and thrives no matter whether man recognizes it or not, whether man seeks it or not. He can only find it by subordinating and silencing himself, his selfish will, his prejudices and his passions, and by placing himself in the service of that spirit who lives in all creation. Nothing is more important in this age of conflicting parties than to teach young men that truth is not made, but that it is given, independent from the desires and aspirations of parties, something to which man must simply submit.

There is no science better adapted to teach just this fact than applied mathematics. Its formulas may be forgotten and buried in the reminiscences of the past; but one fact will always remain, and that is that amidst all the changes going on around us, within and without us, the spirit which lives and rules in all is the same always, the unchangeable, revealed by exact science. It alone can tell us whether a change taking place in the world is real or only apparent. If it is only apparent, our imperfect observation has to account for it; he who has learned to observe the change which a mathematical formula undergoes when the system of the axis is displaced, will be able to apply his knowledge for the correction of all false impressions which he encounters in the experiences of practical life, be it in his office as a minister of the gospel, or as a lawyer, or as a physician, or as a business man, or in the struggle of political parties. He will then always be able to decide for the best of himself, for the best of his country, for the best of humanity. The absolute sincerity



and absolute truth of the scientific thinker is his greatest and bravest characteristic.

A greater emphasis of this objective principle in education is the *supreme need of the modern college*. It requires a modification of the present curriculum. According to our present arrangement at least twice as much time is devoted to the study of languages as there is to the mathematico-scientific branches; consequently the latter have been regarded as an entirely secondary matter which hardly deserves recognition. It has been argued that the college offers a unique education just because it has a centre. But is such a system which puts the sun in the centre and all other cosmical bodies in the circumference the only possible one? There are perhaps just as many double constellations in the universe as there are simple sun-systems. So the extreme linguistic course is just as wrong as the extreme technical; both are specialistic: in the former case we train philologists, in the latter engineers. The only way to reconstruct our present curriculum lies in the direction of the academy or preparatory school. The development of the memory and the awakening of the powers of observation certainly belong to the beginning of the second decade in a man's life. A boy of sixteen ought to be master of the elements of the great languages of ancient and modern times in order to derive any profit from the reading of their literature in College; in like manner he ought to have mastered the elements of descriptive Botany, Zoology, Physics and Chemistry, in order to comprehend the great principles of objective truth properly belonging to college teaching. I therefore conclude that a preparatory course of at least five years, with from twenty-five to thirty hours' instruction per week must, of necessity become the essential basis of our modern college after it has once been assigned its proper place as an institution of general education, distinct from the university of specialists. So much for the pre-eminent *need of the college*.

In discussing the *specific needs* of the department which I

represent in our own College at Lancaster, it is necessary to reiterate that in the domain of the objective the student is constantly called upon to verify by personal tests the truths taught, to convince himself by the powers of his own observation, that a thing is so and not otherwise. Experiment is the test of all objective principles. I would, therefore, first advocate a four years' course in experimental science, corresponding to the course in the languages, one hour for lectures and at least two hours for laboratory work per week. Almost all young men entering college are children in observation and practical skill, and the great majority of them remain such throughout their college course. The mechanical requirements for entrance into college, so many pages here and so many books there, have affected their minds to such a degree that they are utterly unable to answer a single question which demands the recording of their own independent observations, and the extremely small margin given to the natural sciences in the curriculum does not encourage the development of original thinking. Besides, it is much more pleasing to the inborn desire for personal comfort to sit in our rocking-chair and "get out our lessons" with or without a "pony," than it is to expose our tender nerves to the odors and "dangers" of a laboratory, or our precious lives to the "monsters" that lurk in forest, stream and sea. And yet, I must confess that the great majority of American students with whom I have come in contact possess more than ordinary ability, and their training seems worthy of a more perfect and thorough method than is offered by a one-sided subjectivism. I firmly believe that the evils of college life are largely the outgrowth of an overdue development of the imagination. In my experience scientific students do much more serious work than classical students, they become more independent and more manly. What we pre-eminently need is men that can think and act for themselves.

But granted that our circumstances or traditions would not allow an enlargement of the scientific department, the equipment in its present form is nevertheless too meagre to carry on

the required work with any degree of success. What we need in order to keep step with our sister colleges is at least a *much larger annual appropriation* than are granted to us now. Instead of two hundred dollars we ought to have five hundred dollars for the biological and chemical laboratories alone, especially since the department is expected to purchase its own reference books. There are, this year, thirty students at work in the chemical laboratory, and forty-two in the biological. Every one who is conversant with laboratory work knows that the annual expenses of an individual cannot be less than seven dollars, not to mention the apparatus used for general purposes. Besides, in biology the professor in charge must spend the greater part of his vacation in collecting and preparing the material to be used during the coming year; in fact he has to prepare all his material a whole year in advance, most of it requiring several months before it is ready for use, a fact which necessitates the constant appeal to the treasurer, even before the beginning of a new scholastic year. And what shall I say of the care of a scientific museum? However much I should like to advocate this necessary institution, I can hardly dare do so because I myself have not yet been able to spend a whole day in its rooms. All I can say is that a special appropriation is needed for the maintenance and enlargement of our collections, without which they will be and remain useless for the college work.

This review is hardly the place for financial appeals; but since I have been asked to present here the needs of my department, I would say to the friends of Franklin and Marshall College, that it is only through their special extra efforts that we can carry on our work even in its present form. We ought to have at once three hundred dollars beyond *this year's* appropriation, not to speak of the requirements of next year. But are such scattered appeals worthy of as old and honored an institution as ours is? Will not one of our wealthy friends, who has the welfare of Franklin and Marshall at heart, help us over the difficulties with an endowment of ten or twenty thousand

dollars? I am well aware that such appeals have become platitudes in America, where all higher education is at the mercy of benevolent impulses; but I am no less convinced of the sincerity of those whose generosity has carried Franklin and Marshall through all the difficulties of the past, and who are ever willing to stand by her in all earnest efforts for her present and future welfare.

The centennial year of the Reformed Church has come to a close; one magnificent centennial gift has been offered upon the altar of her educational efforts; we are proud of the gift and the giver; standing on the threshold of a new century, we appeal for a birthday present that will indicate far greater achievements in the new cycle of another hundred years.

IX.

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

THE BOY JESUS AND OTHER SERMONS. By William M. Taylor, D. D., LL. D., Pastor Emeritus of the Broadway Tabernacle, New York City. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 51 East Tenth Street, near Broadway. 1893. Price \$1.75.

The late Dr. Philip Schaff used to say that sermons should be heard, not read. This is no doubt true of the sermons which are mostly preached, but it is not true of such sermons as are contained in the volume before us. All these are possessed of a high order of merit, and will amply repay careful reading. Young ministers who would learn the secret of true success in preaching will especially find them deserving of their attention and careful study. It would unquestionably be a great gain to the Church if all the utterances of the pulpit were equally clear, sound and instructive.

THE SERMON BIBLE. Colossians—James. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 51 East Tenth Street, near Broadway. 1893. Price \$1.50.

We have on several occasions heretofore called attention to the general characteristics of this work. It is not necessary, therefore, to state them again. As for the present volume, it is fully equal in merit to any of those that have preceded it. Treating of an important portion of the New Testament Scriptures in a homiletical point of view, its sketches of sermons will be found of unusual interest. If properly studied they cannot fail to be highly suggestive and profitable helps in the preparation of sermons. Much valuable instruction of various kinds may also be gleaned from them. One more volume will complete the series. The value of each volume, however, is independent of the others.

PULPIT AND PLATFORM: Sermons and Addresses. By Rev. O. H. Tiffany, D.D., LL.D. New York: Hunt & Eaton; Cincinnati: Cranston & Curtis. 1893. Price \$1.25.

This volume is made up of twelve sermons and four addresses. Among the subjects discussed in the sermons are, Oratory, the Preparation in Study, the Cross, Thanksgiving, Christmas, the New Birth, the Things which are Cæsar's, the Silence of Christ, and a Woman's Influence. The addresses are on Abraham Lincoln, Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant, American National Character as affected by Immigration, and the Yosemite Valley. Both sermons

and addresses will be found of a highly interesting character, and will repay study. They deserve to be published, and are worthy a place in every clergyman's library.

ANNOTATIONS UPON POPULAR HYMNS. By Charles Seymour Robinson, D. D., Editor and Compiler of "Songs of the Church," 1862; "Songs of the Sanctuary," 1865; "Psalms and Hymns," 1875; "Spiritual Songs," 1878; "Laudes Domini," 1884; "New Laudes Domini, 1892." For use in praise meetings. New York: Hunt & Eaton; Cincinnati: Cranston & Curtis. Price \$2.50.

This volume, the author tells us in the preface, has grown slowly through a period of years, and has been prepared specially as a help for "Praise Meetings," or so-called "Services of Song." It contains annotations upon more than a thousand of the best known hymns in our language. In these annotations much interesting and edifying information is given concerning the authors of these hymns, and the circumstances under which they were prepared. Portraits of many of the hymn-writers are also given, which afford matter for entertaining study. The work is indeed in every respect a truly valuable one. Much may be learned from it, which, if rightly used, will add materially to the interest of religious services of all kinds. It ought accordingly to have a place in every minister's library.

THE STUDENT'S COMMENTARY. A COMPLETE HERMENEUTICAL MANUAL ON THE BOOK OF ECCLESIASTES. By James Strang, S. T. D., LL. D. New York: Hunt & Eaton; Cincinnati: Cranston & Curtis. Price \$2.00.

This commentary on the book of Ecclesiastes consists of a corrected Hebrew text, an ample critical apparatus, a free but terse metrical rendering, a modernized and rhythmically arranged translation, an extended introduction, a detailed tabular analysis, the authorized version amended, the American revised version, a closely literal metaphrase, a copious, logical, exegetical and practical exposition, and full lexical, grammatical and vindictory notes. It contains, therefore, everything, apart from lexicon and grammar, which is necessary to the most thorough study of the book. Such is indeed its richness of matter that it is really adapted, as the author designed it should be, to readers, preachers and scholars of every stage of progress and of all denominations. Of the commentaries on Ecclesiastes with which we are acquainted, it is the most satisfactory and generally useful. It ought to be in demand therefore, especially among scholars and theological students.

ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES ON THE SUNDAY SCHOOL LESSON FOR 1894. By Jesse Lyman Hurlbut and Robert Remington Doherty. New York: Hunt & Eaton; Cincinnati: Cranston & Curtis. 1893. Price \$1.25.

This volume is a guide to the study of the Sunday-school lessons for the year just begun. It gives for the benefit of those who would

thoroughly acquaint themselves with these lessons, original and selected comments, methods of teachings, illustrative stories, practical applications, notes on Eastern life, library references, maps, tables, pictures and diagrams. Of the various books of this kind which are annually published, it is one of the very best. Those who will furnish themselves with it and make its contents a careful study, can scarcely fail to understand the different lessons for the year, and to be admirably equipped to impart instruction with regard to them. We commend the work to Sunday-school teachers generally. All such will find it a very valuable help.

LIFE'S BATTLE WON. By Julia A. W. De Witt, author of "How He Made His Fortune," etc. New York: Hunt & Eaton, Cincinnati: Cranston & Curtis. 1893. Price \$1.50.

This story is said to be substantially true, and therefore something more than a mere creation of the imagination. Its aim is to show what can be accomplished by the patient and persevering efforts of an earnest Christian. Written in an attractive and entertaining style, it is well suited for the family and the Sunday-school library. Both younger persons and those of more advanced years will find the reading of it interesting and profitable. It is a book that ought to be in demand, especially in the Sunday-school.

THOUGHTS ON GOD AND MAN. Selections from the Works of Frederick William Robertson, of "Brighton." Edited by Joseph B. Burroughs, M. D. New York: Hunt & Eaton, Cincinnati: Cranston & Curtis. 1893. Price \$1.00.

These "Thoughts" have been selected from the published sermons of Rev. F. W. Robertson who, we think, may properly be called the most brilliant preacher of the nineteenth century. One selection is given for each day of the year, and each selection is prefaced by a text of Scripture. The selections or "thoughts," will prove an admirable introduction to the sermons themselves from which they are taken. No one can read them without benefit, and those who do read them, will desire to read all that their gifted author wrote, if they have not already done so.

A PHYSICIAN'S NOTES ON APOSTOLIC TIMES (the Acts of the Apostles). By Rev. S. V. Robinson. New York: Hunt & Eaton, Cincinnati: Cranston & Curtis. 1893. Price 20 cents.

This booklet forms part of "The Book of Books Series." Though not as striking a treatise as some of the other numbers of the series, it is nevertheless well written and will repay study. Rev. Robinson does not enter into any of the critical questions connected with the Acts of the Apostles, but simply calls attention to some of the great truths which this portion of Scripture sets forth and illustrates. "This book," he truly says, "is pre-eminently instruc-

tive on the ministry of the Holy Spirit. The Gospels tell us how Jesus lived, what He taught, the work He 'began to do,' how He died and rose again. The Acts show us the activities of the risen Lord through the ministry of the divine Spirit. It is the Acts of the Holy Spirit in Apostolic Times."

THE PEOPLE'S BIBLE. Discourses upon Holy Scripture. By Joseph Parker, D. D., minister of the City Temple, Holborn Viaduct, London. Vol. xxii. John. New York: Funk & Wagnall's Company, London and Toronto. 1893. Price \$1.50.

We have here another volume of the People's Bible. Only two more volumes remain to be published. To attempt the production of such an extended work was a great undertaking, which now promises to be successfully achieved. The present volume, like those which have preceded it, abounds in brilliant and striking statements. In it the central truths of the Gospel of St. John are brought out, explained, illustrated and applied with great skill and power. One of the most startling features of the volume is the view advanced by Dr. Parker, that Judas was truly repentant and will probable be among the saved. Those who have the other volumes of the series will of course want this volume also.

OUR NEED OF PHILOSOPHY. An Appeal to the American People. By PAUL CARNS. An Address delivered on August 24, 1893, before the World's Congress of Philosophy at Chicago, Ill.

THE RELIGION OF SCIENCE. By Paul Carns 1893 Price in paper 25 cents. Extra Edition, 50 cents.

Both the above publications come to us from the OPEN COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY, OF CHICAGO, ILL., and commend themselves as fruit of earnest thought.

What Dr. Carns says about our need of philosophy is deserving of serious consideration. With him we believe that, "By introducing certain ideas into men's minds you determine their doings and omissions. As people think, so they feel; and as they feel, so they act. Our conceptions lie at the bottom of our sentiments, and our sentiments determine our attitude in life."

The Religion of Science, as presented by Dr. Carns, contains undoubted elements of truth. As a whole, however, it is not satisfactory. The religion of true science and the religion of Jesus we feel assured in the end will be found to be one and the same. The views, however, which Dr. Carns entertains concerning the soul and immortality, in our opinion are not at all the views entertained by Jesus and taught in the Christian Scriptures. We need a higher philosophy and religion than that which materialism offers unto us.

THE REFORMED QUARTERLY REVIEW

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I.

THEOLOGICAL PROGRESS OF THE REFORMED CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES.

BY S. N. CALLENDER, D.D.

THE Heidelberg Catechism is the only confessional standard of the Reformed Church in the United States. Such it has been from the beginning. It is pre-eminently a *Confession of Faith*, as distinguished from a system or code of doctrine. Its fundamental base consists of the great cardinal articles of our Christian faith, as these are embodied in the Apostles' Creed. These articles are the postulations of supernatural *facts*, revealed by inspiration, and once for all, fixed, determined and complete. In their case the last word has been spoken. They are for the catechism, the ultimate norm and standard for all doctrinal definition. On the other hand, however, the Heidelberg Catechism may be said to be, in a secondary sense, a system of doctrine. But this, in the way of an endeavor to formulate the contents and necessary inferences flowing from the primary articles of faith, as apprehended by the human understanding. We have then in our confessional standard the factor of infallible, supernatural fact, to be apprehended by faith, and also an exposition of the significance and contents of

these facts, as apprehended by the sanctified mind of the Church. For the latter factor, it would be worse than folly to claim the infallibility and completeness which we justly predicate of the former. Unlike the factual body of faith, doctrine has a genesis, a growth, and we reach our doctrinal apprehensions, as in a historical way the Holy Ghost takes the things of Christ, and shows them to us. The authors of the catechism gave us the doctrinal contents of the postulates of faith as they were understood in their day. For illustration, they found the great fact of the Atonement clearly affirmed in the Creed; but in giving us their apprehension of its contents and modus, they present us with the then-prevalent Anselmic theory, which had been preceded by several discarded views, and which is now well nigh universally conceded by the Christian world to be inadequate. Hence we have in our catechism the infallible element of fact for faith, which is the same yesterday, to-day and forever; and the element of doctrine, as the growing apprehension of the truth as it is in Jesus Christ, and which will grow in the comprehension of the deep things of God through all time and eternity. For the finite will never measure and comprehend the infinite.

The Reformed Church in the United States, from her earliest history, has rested confidently upon these articles of faith, and they were and still are the standard and norm of her doctrinal deliverances and practical methods. As especially pertinent to our present study, we notice her firm adhesion, amongst the others, to the article of the Holy Catholic Church. The Church of Jesus Christ has always been for her an object, a fact to be received by faith, and not by the understanding. It is an objective, substantial, spiritual reality. It is a divine organic constitution, not a human association for prudential ends. It is the permanent abode of the Holy Spirit, not in the form of an influence merely, but in personal, concrete presence. It is the living body of Christ, and its life is operative as the ministry of the Holy Ghost, through the organs and ordinances divinely comprehended in its constitution. These are prima-

rily the *Preached Word*, for the working of faith in the blinded human soul; *Baptism*, as the organ for the impartation of the divine-human life, and the comprehension of the subject in its spiritual body, and the *Lord's Supper*, as the means for the confirmation of faith, and the nourishment of the regenerate life of the believer.

Thus apprehending the Church and its divine ordinances, our Reformed Church has ever insisted that the office of the preached word, as the only divinely ordained instrumentality for this end, was primarily to awaken the sinful soul to an apprehension, by faith, of its lost condition; the necessity of its deliverance from this lost estate, and to present the means for this deliverance; and subsequently to teach the observance of all things commanded. In the fulfillment of this office the endeavor, besides the stated ministry of the word in the sanctuary, was and still is, to gather all who can be reached, and especially her baptized children, into the catechetical class where the word might be taught in a way adapted to a maturing capacity, and its truths impressed upon the memory. Thus did she seek, in the use of the means appointed by the Saviour, and made effective as the organ of the Holy Ghost, to work faith in the soul, as a preparation for the office of the Lord's Supper. This educational system was characteristic of our Reformed Church from the beginning, both in Europe and the United States.

Thus much we thought it necessary to say in definition of the Theological position of our Church at the beginning of this century. Only as we clearly apprehend her theological status at that time, can we intelligently trace its history in subsequent years.

As a result of the scholastic disputations which sprang up in the Protestant Church soon after the Reformation, there came widely to prevail a sad declension of personal holiness, and a spirit of formalism. This at length was succeeded by a reaction, and earnest souls sought to inspire a revival of deeper devotion, personal piety and Christian activity. This movement

took the form of a pietistic subjectivism. It displayed a wonderful energy, and unquestionably wrought an immense amount of good. But unfortunately it sought largely to accomplish its good work by the subordination of the divinely appointed to human methods. Instead of a preaching of the Gospel which emphasized Jesus Christ and Him crucified, it was rather in the form of an evangelistic and impassioned harangue addressed rather to the fears and emotions of the hearer. Instead of relying upon the means of grace specifically appointed by the Saviour as the instrumentalities through which the Holy Ghost works in His several offices, the endeavor was to secure the exercise of these offices in the subordination of the divine institutions to those of humanly conceived adaptation. In large measure prayer, exhortation and other human activities were relied upon. Now we have not one word to say in derogation of prayer. It enters constitutionally into the Christian life. It is absolutely essential to that life in the earthly state. But still prayer is not a means of grace in the sense that the word and sacraments are. Prayer does not work faith. *Faith cometh by hearing the preached gospel*, and prayer is the fruit of faith. The thought was that the Holy Spirit in answer to prayer would immediately and directly fulfill His spiritual offices, outside of the means ordained for this purpose. The one merit, however, of this system is, that many in whom faith has already been wrought by the preaching of the gospel, and who may be hesitating as to an open confession of Christ, are precipitated to a decision. But in the soul destitute of faith, this system of emotional subjectivism is powerless to work it, as thousands of experiences bear testimony.


During the latter part of the last century, this subjectivism succeeded in affecting some members of our Reformed Church. This was conspicuously the case with Rev. Philip William Otterbein, who as an ordained minister accompanied Rev. M. Schlatter on his last return to this country from Germany. He located in Lancaster, Pa., where, according to his own testimony, *he experienced a change of heart*. After ministering at

several other points, he finally took charge of the Second Reformed Church in Baltimore, Md. Here he came in contact with Dr. Coke and Francis Asbury, and others of kindred spirit. And in the ordination of Asbury as bishop, he took part with Dr. Coke. During his pastorate in Baltimore he introduced the methods employed by the then rapidly growing Methodism; and associated with some ten other congenial spirits, in the year 1800 they organized the movement which resulted in the establishment of the United Brethren Church. This infection spread to other parts of our Reformed Church. Others of her ministers were coming to think that the spirit of formalism, which, it must be confessed, had to some extent impaired the educational system, was to be overcome by the total abandonment of the system itself, and the substitution of these new measures in its place. This was again conspicuously illustrated in the case of Rev. John Winebrenner in 1820 to 1822, who was then pastor of the Reformed Church in Harrisburg, Pa., who in the face of the counsels and remonstrances of his ministerial brethren, allowed himself to be carried away from his moorings to the extent of inaugurating a schismatical movement, which resulted in the establishment of the body now known as the "Church of God."

Meanwhile the Methodist movement spread with amazing rapidity throughout the whole country, and made serious inroads into the old churches. The people were coming to regard its narrow, individualistic type of piety, its noisy demonstration and its sudden experiences, as the true form of personal holiness, as contrasted with a broader piety, which comprehended the individual in the bosom of a divine organization, and included in its reach not only man's spiritual, but also his temporal relations. The comparatively slow process of working faith by the preaching of the gospel must be supplemented by the whirlwind of an appeal to human fears, and thus hasten the regenerative activity of the Holy Ghost. This movement produced a marked effect in nearly all the Protestant churches in this country—and our Reformed Church among the rest.

Many of our ministers were carried away by it, especially in the English sections of the Church, and our educational system was rapidly losing favor.

It was in the midst of this complication that Rev. John W. Nevin, D.D., discerning the fact that the Reformed Church was drifting from her moorings, sought to arrest the defection, and opened what is usually denominated the "Anxious Bench Controversy." His penetrating mind saw clearly enough that our educational system was based upon the grace-bearing efficiency of the word and sacraments, whereas the "new measure" system, discarding this character of the sacraments, by eviscerating them of their spiritual contents, lowered them to the plane of human acts of piety and worship; and by thus eliminating their objective grace, destroyed entirely their sacramental character itself. Hence it was no longer a question of practical methods and measures, but a theological question which touched the very vitals of Christianity. At first he published several articles on the subject in the *Messenger*; but subsequently, in 1844, he made a vigorous expose of the extravagances and radical defects of the whole system, in his brochure, entitled the "Anxious Bench." The attack was unquestionably a very trenchant one, and had the immediate effect, which the writer designed, to attract wide-spread attention. Those of us whose memory carries us back to that time can vividly recall the tremendous excitement it caused. Dr. Nevin was in turn attacked from various quarters, and by no one more vigorously and unsparingly than by Rev. Dr. B. Kurtz, of the *Lutheran Observer*, then published in Baltimore. He was denounced as an enemy to all vital godliness, as a wolf in sheep's clothing, and with many like opprobrious epithets. But the arrow was truly aimed. A minister of another church, still living, one day in conversation on the subject, remarked, "I don't like Dr. Nevin. I don't like his 'Anxious Bench;' but somehow, every time I use the anxious bench, I can't help but think of him and his book." More than one of his vehement dissenters lived to see that the principle contended for was the correct one.



The effect of the Anxious Bench controversy, and the affirmation of the Educational System, had the effect to awaken the Reformed Church to a clearer apprehension of the grace-bearing character of the sacraments. Her attention was called anew to the unequivocal teaching of her own Heidelberg Catechism upon this vital point. This came upon her as something of a startling surprise. For she had allowed herself to drift passively along with the prevailing current in the direction of low rationalistic views. The Puritanic habit of thought had come largely to prevail, with its rationalistic individualism. It readily resigned in large part its educational system, on which it had relied in its better days, and accepted in no small degree the spirit of Methodist subjectivism. As a necessary consequence, the sacraments were divested of their *sacramental* significance, and reduced to the level of church rites and ceremonies. Baptism was for it a sort of installation service by which the subject was introduced into the fellowship of the Church—a badge of membership in the association. The Lord's Supper was the commemoration of a past event, and its elements were signs of the body and blood of Christ. The spiritual movement was from the human soul out towards God, and not from God to the soul of the worshiper, as provided in the sacraments as the organs through which the Holy Spirit ministers, in answer to the prayer of faith. It was left without sacraments, in the true sense of the term, and relied for divine ministrations upon the unmediated activity of the Holy Spirit and the providence of God. No wonder then that our Reformed Church was startled when she awoke to the fact that she was in danger of being carried away from her standard by the vicious trend of prevailing theological thought. No wonder that she aroused from her supineness, to rescue the heavenly treasure of her sacraments from such a rationalistic degradation—that she reaffirmed her adhesion to the doctrine of the spiritual real presence in the Eucharist, as it had come down to her from the Reformers, was taught in her Catechism, and in well-nigh all the approved Reformed Confessions since their day. This

latter fact, namely, that the Reformed Confessions of Europe had almost without exception taught the spiritual real presence in the Eucharist, and that it was clearly and distinctly taught by John Calvin, was emphasized with a clear and sharp distinctness. And the charge was boldly made, that the branches of the Reformed Church that accepted the rationalistic degradation of the sacrament, were untrue to their traditions and confessions.

This discussion culminated in the appearance of Dr. Nevin's masterly book, entitled, "*The Mystical Presence, a Vindication of the Reformed or Calvinistic Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist*," in 1846. To say that this book produced a profound impression in some branches of the Reformed Church in this country, is to put it mildly. They felt themselves charged, with not only defection from their own standards, but equally with a rationalistic departure from the truth. That in response to this grave charge, theological champions should rush upon the arena, was only what was to be expected; some of them unhappily illy equipped for the contention, as the issue proved. But the surprise was that such a scholar as Rev. Charles Hodge, D.D., of Princeton, N. J., a scholar who was held, and justly too, to be an authority in questions relating to theology and symbolics, should undertake to dispute the position taken. After a delay of a number of months, he published an elaborate review of the book, in which he disputed the allegations made as to the teaching of the Reformed Confessions as to the real presence in the Eucharist. This Dr. Nevin followed with a crushing reply, which was of such force as to induce the remark by such a finished scholar as Professor Tayler Lewis, of New York, that it unquestionably called for a rejoinder, or a tacit acknowledgment of the invincibility of its argument. The rejoinder has not appeared to this day.

Had the question in debate been simply the objective contents of the sacrament, or the teaching of the Reformed Confessions on the subject, the Mystical Presence might well have been taken as a final and victorious issue. But the study inci-

dent to the contention had clearly uncovered the fact that this tenet of the Church did not stand alone; that it was organically and logically related to the whole body of Christian faith, and that its rationalistic degradation involved a like degradation of Christianity itself. It was found that this debasing movement involved a re-statement of the essential nature and contents of Christianity, of the character and constitution of the Church; of its relation to, as also the significance and office of the Incarnation; the organs and manner of the exercise of the functions of the Holy Spirit; of the office and contents of regeneration; indeed of the whole redemptive character of our holy religion. It was found that the same rationalistic spirit that would eliminate the element of mystery from the sacraments, would naturally erase the article of the Holy Catholic Church from the Apostles' Creed. For the Church would be no more an object to be apprehended by faith than a Masonic or any other fraternity, and would be as easily comprehensible by the understanding as any of these human associations. It was seen that the same logical necessity would discard *unity* as an essential attribute, as for it, there might be as many churches in the world as beneficial societies. And as for Christ's headship, that is true in some such sense, differing principally in degree, as Martin Luther is the head of the Lutheran Church. So too with the Incarnation. That was but a means to an end. Christ became incarnate to the end that He might endure suffering to satisfy divine justice, and having accomplished that purpose, and returned to heaven, the question of the continuance of the human and divine in His person in that blessed abode remained for a later elucidation. And regeneration,—well, that is a *moral* change, wrought by a divine *influence*, which the Holy Spirit, hovering about us on the wings of His omnipresence, exerts in man's behalf.

Now all this was clearly before the mind of the author of the *Mystical Presence*; and hence his drastic arraignment of the whole scheme. In the course of the discussion our Church had been brought face to face with the question of the essential na-

ture of Christianity. The question for her was, *What is Christianity?* Is it simply a scheme or plan by which God, moved by infinite pity for ruined man, determined to interpose for his rescue? That to this end He provided for a sacrificial satisfaction of the claims of divine justice by the incarnation of His Son, to the end that by His suffering the penalty of the violated law, it might be possible to forgive man's sin, and thus open the way for his salvation? That henceforth man should be challenged with the proclamation of this gracious provision in his behalf, and aided in its acceptance by the efficient *influence* of the ever-hovering presence of the Holy Spirit? That yielding to the helping power of this influence, men should be led to associate themselves for mutual aid, and conjointly provide for stately assembling themselves together for instruction, for spiritual edification, for prayer and praise? And that now being justified on the basis of Christ's satisfaction, and enjoying the helpful influences of the Holy Spirit, aided by a prudential association with its rites and offices, they might be able to live pious and holy lives? Is this Christianity?

On the other hand, the question was, Does not Christianity involve the fact of a new creation, and does it not present to the eye of faith a constitution and order of facts as intensely real and concrete, as the eye of sense discerns in the natural world? Does the fact that these facts and forces are spiritual impair their realism? Are we not therefore to regard the incarnation as a new creative union of the divine and human natures—that this was primarily that we *might have life*—that our human life might be brought into its intended and normal relations of union and communion with, and participation in the divine life, and that Christ's sufferings and death were the result of the sad effects and consequences entailed by sin upon our nature which He had assumed, and which must needs be overcome and exhausted? In regeneration then, are we not created anew in Christ Jesus, and made partakers of His divine-human life? Is generation in the case of the second Adam any less realistic in its communication and transmission of life than in the case of

the first Adam, the Holy Ghost, the Lord and giver of life, being the efficient giver in either case? And as to the Church, are not the children who are born anew in the second Adam as much partakers in common (the communion of saints) of his divine-human life, as the children of the first Adam are partakers of his natural life? Is not then the Church the body of Christ in a sense as *substantially* real, as the human family is the body of our common natural father—and as we know now that all the institutions, laws and offices of our domestic, social and political life find their ground, force and validity in our natural human life, and are the outward expression and revelation of that life, are we not, without escape, held to the conclusion that the organization, the offices and the sacraments are in like manner the forms of the manifestation and communication of the vital contents of the Church, as the body of Christ?

To the issue as between these two systems was our Reformed Church brought in the course of the discussion which took its rise in the Anxious Bench controversy. And thanks be to God, she was led by His Spirit to accept the latter. But the end was not yet reached.

Our Church was coming to see that the prevailing conception of the nature and constitution of the Holy Catholic Church was not adequate to the reality, but sadly at variance with its true idea. In no one particular was the divergence from the truth more lamentably marked, than as to its essential unity. True, the unity of the Church, as a theory, was a generally conceded point. This, however, was supposed to relate to its invisible, spiritual constitution and purpose; but as to its manifestation in the world, unity was not taken to be an essential attribute. The sect spirit was in the ascendant. For it the divisions and antagonisms rampant in the Protestant Church were not to be deprecated, but rather approved and defended. It argued that laboring towards a common end these divisions, in the way of emulation and competition would secure redoubled activity, would extend more widely abroad, and hasten the realization of the glory of God and the salvation of souls. The fa-

vorite illustration was, the several divisions and regiments in an army, striving conjointly for a common good. The fact, however, seems to have been largely overlooked, that no small amount of this "redoubled activity," was expended by these divisions in warring with each other. Not indeed in the use of carnal weapons, but in the form rather of raids, by which captives taken from the ranks, or the adherents of their opponents, would swell their own numbers and strength. This form of "redoubled activity" was very common during the third, fourth, fifth and sixth decades of this century. And our Reformed Church suffered more than a little from it. It was the Protestant principle, its individualism, right and valid within legitimate bounds, run out into an abnormal and vicious extreme.

Now against this iniquitous extreme, and the whole rationalistic spirit which gave birth to it, our Church proclaimed her most emphatic and vigorous protest. It was, however, at an early period in the discussions which were engaging the thought and heart of our Church, that an event transpired, and for the outcome of which she had been prepared by Dr. Nevin's elucidation of the spirit and genius of the Heidelberg Catechism and the Anxious Bench controversy, which contributed largely to determine the direction and character of the discussions which followed. It was, however, in the direct line of what had preceded. This event was the appearance of Rev. Dr. Philip Schaff's *Principle of Protestantism*, in 1845, about a year before the publication of the *Mystical Presence*. This was his inaugural address upon taking his chair in our Theological Seminary.

Dr. Schaff had recently come from Germany, where the theological questions which were just emerging above the horizon of thought in this country, had for some time been exercising the minds and hearts of many of her most learned and devout scholars. The evangelical spirit was effectively asserting itself, as over against the speculative rationalism which had so terribly demoralized the German Church. Into this contention he had entered with all the ardor of youth and the enthusiasm

of ripening scholarship. He had breathed an atmosphere which was being purged of the miasma which had polluted it during the preceding period. And he came to this country brim-full of this better life and spirit. And it could not well have been otherwise than that his first extended theological utterance should be an expression of this, to him, absorbing spirit.

The question uppermost in theological thought in Germany was, *What is the essential nature of Christianity?* This question had come to it, borne on the current of history. And with reverent attention it bowed the listening ear to its lessons. It had received different answers in preceding periods, and it was observed that these answers, both as facts of history, and the deductions of reason, were at bottom the same, and had followed in the same order. As to the voices of history, the Greek Church pronounced the distinguishing character of Christianity as consisting in its being a *revelation*, and emphasized the form of its teachings; the Roman Church decided that it was *law*, and found the realization of its idea in obedience; while the Reformation held that it was *redemption*, and revealed itself to consciousness. On the other hand, modern thought, prior to the appearance of Emanuel Kant, had defined Christianity to be primarily doctrine, and orthodoxy was the touch-stone; on the basis of Kant's Practical Reason, it was defined to be morality, a form of outward life, whose metes and bounds were definable by the chain and compass of the understanding; while in the reaction from rationalism such men as Schleiermacher found in feeling the distinguishing feature.

The results of these endeavors to define the nature and fundamental principle of Christianity were found to be that progress had been made on different lines. The conclusion reached in each of the three movements indicated was found to contain an element of truth. But these elements were affirmed in a separatistic way, each excluding or holding in damaging subordination the other two, thus totally failing in a harmonious co-ordination. It was felt that there yet needed to be grasped a deeper and more comprehensive principle,—one that would

comprehend the elements already defined, and harmonize and complete them in an all-containing unity. The claims of the intellect had been met by the definition that Christianity was doctrine; those of the will, by the response that it was morality; and those of the sensibility, that it was feeling. Now what is the broad, all-including principle which will raise all these to the plane of co-ordination and vital unity?

While Schleiermacher grievously failed in many respects to measure the significance of Christianity, yet his designation of consciousness as its primary realm, together with his pantheistic philosophy, served to point out the direction in which the sought-for principle was to be found. His affirmation that human consciousness constituted an essential factor, taken with the divine immanence, although he affirmed this latter element in a grossly defective form, served to give rise to the conviction that to measure the distinctive character of Christianity we must discern the principle that would include them both. And thus was the result logically reached, that the all-containing principle was life itself, at once divine and human. Hence the conclusion, that the distinctive characteristic of Christianity is that it is a divine-human substantial life, comprehending at once every department of human life in a harmonious unity, thus raising humanity to its ideal.

It did not take long to make it manifest that this conception of Christianity invested the incarnation with a vastly enlarged significance, and made it determinative of the contents of Christianity, and formative of its outward organization in the church. As then the inner constitution and contents of our holy religion had grown in the apprehension of the human mind, just as the Christian consciousness had grown and developed, so the Church had historically developed in its form, and the apprehension of its own significance and the spiritual efficiency of its offices. So that the doctrine of *historical development*, was accepted as the organon for the growth and evolution of Christianity, both in its inner life and its organized manifestation.

When Dr. Schaff reached this country he was fully and

enthusiastically in sympathy with these later evangelical movements in Germany. In his inaugural, to wit: *The Principle of Protestantism*, he clearly defined his position in this regard, and furnished us with the most powerful vindication of the legitimacy of Protestantism which had appeared in the English language based on the doctrine of *Historical Development*. He held that Protestantism was a legitimate out-birth of the life of the Church preceding the Reformation; that it was the expression of a principle complementary to and complete of the principle of authority as embodied in the old Church, and that in the *Church of the Future* will be embodied the two principles, now separately expressed, in one harmonious unity.

The accepted doctrine of Historical Development of course involved the true churchly character of the pre-reformation Church. And Dr. Schaff distinctly affirmed it. "This was the feather that broke the camel's back." During the Anxious Bench controversy there were some of our ministers who had become deeply tinctured with the puritanic and rationalistic spirit then prevalent, but had taken no active part in the discussion. Some of them had been violent in their assaults upon the Church of Rome, and had denied its title to be called a true Church. When, therefore, Dr. Schaff conceded that it was a branch of the Church of Christ, they broke their reserve and organized an attack. This was the inauguration of the controversy within the bounds of our own Church. Rev. Dr. Joseph F. Berg, at that time pastor of the old Race Street Church in Philadelphia, and a man of considerable prominence in our Church, was a noted anti-popery polemic, and was at the same time the editor of a periodical called the *Protestant Banner*. When *The Principle of Protestantism* appeared he was horrified, and denounced it as rank with heresy. But the Inaugural Address itself was not all. As an appendix to it was published a sermon by Dr. Nevin, on Catholic Unity, delivered at the Triennial Convention at Harrisburg, in which he dwelt specifically upon the Mystical Union subsisting between Christ and believers, the vital organism of the Church, and the

spiritual real presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Eucharist. This, together with Dr. Nevin's highly favorable introduction to the book, and the fact that Dr. Berg had learned from his protege, a convert of his, who professed to have been a monk at La Trappe, in France, and whom he had sent to the Seminary to study for the Protestant ministry, and, by the way, whose after record was anything but savory, that Dr. Nevin taught that the Church of Rome was a branch of the true Church, caused him to train his guns rather upon Dr. Nevin than upon the book, although this last was, in his estimation, hopelessly bad. Dr. Berg, in his bitter attacks in *The Protestant Banner*, denounced Dr. Nevin's published views and teachings as false and heretical, and accused him of teaching a doctrine contrary to the Heidelberg Catechism; he continued to denounce the Church of Rome as anti-christ, and held Protestantism to be the only true Church. Dr. Nevin at first replied in the *Messenger*, in a series of articles under the title of *Pseudo-protestantism*, in which he denied that Protestantism was the *only* true form of Christianity, and pointed out that the principle of Protestantism, while true and valid, had yet run out into an abnormal extreme, and loudly called for readjustment and restatement, in doctrine and church methods.

Dr. Berg's crusade culminated in inducing the Classis of Philadelphia to arraign, in an irregular way, the "Principle of Protestantism," together with Drs. Nevin and Schaff before the Synod, on what were, in reality, charges of heresy. It not being essential to the purpose of this paper to go into details, it will suffice to say generally that the accused waived the irregularity of the proceedings of the Classis of Philadelphia, and accepted the issue. After a patient and extended hearing at its meeting in York, Pa., in 1845, Synod, by an almost unanimous vote, vindicated both the "Principle of Protestantism," and the Professors in our Seminary as being free from heresy.

Thus was the discussion of the *Church Question* fully and fairly inaugurated. After the deliverance of the Synod at

York, Pa., the controversy increased in intensity and earnestness. Wide-spread attention was attracted in the American and European churches. Our Professors maintained their position, holding to the historical and organic character of the Church, as the body of Christ, animated by His divine-human life through the abiding presence of the Holy Ghost; the mystical union of the believer with Christ in partaking of His divine-human life, and the spiritual real presence of Christ in the Eucharist. Along these lines did the discussion run. All this was found to be in antagonism to the prevailing puritanical, rationalistic conceptions. Hence it was that Dr. Nevin sought, in 1846, to give a full logical statement of the whole contention, as it presented itself to his mind, in his *Mystical Presence*.

It was the searching exposure of the deficiency of Protestantism, in the extreme rationalistic form in which it was held in this country, on the one hand, and the affirmation of the organic, historical continuity of the Church, from the beginning, on the other, that awakened the keen interest, and indeed anxious apprehensions of many both outside and within our own church. He denounced the *sect spirit*, then rampant, as anti-christ, and published a trenchant tract on the subject. He accused the puritan spirit of discarding the true mystical character of the Church and the sacraments, indeed, of reducing the church to the low level of a human institution or association, and of divesting the sacraments of their spiritual contents; of making Christianity to be a purely individualistic, subjective interest, and its outward organization a matter for human prudential adjustment. He seemed almost ruthlessly to thrust the probe to the very core of the festering sore with which Protestantism, in its rationalistic form, was afflicted. On the other hand he most heroically held for the organic, vital and historical character of the body of Christ, the abiding home of the Holy Ghost. He held that true Protestantism was a legitimate historical development of the life of the Church; that this life had passed through the evolution of the ages, and at no time, however imperfect in form and doctrinal

apprehension, was to be discarded as other than the true body of Christ; that to reject the Church for a thousand years, as was done by the then prevailing rationalistic spirit, as having fallen under the power of the devil, was to discard its spiritual heritage and patrimony, and cut itself off from the great and good of the ages past. He held that the remedy for our Protestantism was not in repristination; for then must we repeat the historical growth of the past. The Church had passed through its childhood, its youth, its early manhood, and now must it press forward, gathering in one the labors and experience of all its past, into the completion of the *Church of the Future*.

It was while he was contrasting the assumptions of puritanism, as to the character of the Church, with those that prevailed in the early Church—its discordant and separatistic spirit, with the rigidity of its institutions, and its authoritative teachings—that the greatest anxiety and alarm were felt. What the Church was in the days of Cyprian and Augustine, standing, however, on the firm basis of the Apostles' Creed, was made to appear to many almost as a revelation, and some were prompted to ask the question: "Is not Protestantism hopelessly wrong?" A few answered the question in the affirmative, and passed over to the Roman Church. But at that very time Dr. Nevin gave to the Church and the world what was perhaps the strongest polemic, which had then appeared in this country, against the assumptions of the Roman Church, in the controversy with Dr. O. A. Brownson.

In all this discussion, as already remarked, *historical development*, or if you will so call it, *evolution*, and that too before Darwin had signalized it, was held to be the organon of the life of the Church. In passing through its early stages, it was conditioned by its environment, and the then-existing phase of our humanity. It was necessary that the principle of authority should first assert itself and serve as a schoolmaster to prepare man for the exercise of a free individual will. And this is the conclusion to which our church was conducted by this long and anxious discussion. And now we can stand by and witness the

anxious march of other churches in this country, *for they must*, in one form or another, traverse the same ground. We know from experience what the final outcome for them must be.

The next advance movement in our church was the construction of a Liturgy. It was felt that the recognized character of the Church called for a carefully prepared form of uniform worship. The common participation in the life of Christ called for a personal participation in the worship of the sanctuary. An abnormal opposition to forms had consigned all the offices of worship to the minister, except a share in the singing of praise, leaving the laity in the attitude of listeners. A liturgical committee was appointed, which produced what was called the *Provisional Liturgy*. Soon a more thorough work was called for. It was while this further work was in progress that differences arose within the Church, which, together with fears which had arisen during the discussion of the church question, and which were intensified by the transition of a few of our ministers to the Church of Rome, gave rise to the apprehension that the churchly movement in progress involved a latent "Romanizing tendency." This gave rise to a vigorous contention within our own bounds, which continued a number of years. The trouble with some was that they did not discern that the exposure of the weaknesses and wrong extreme development of Protestantism was not an attack upon its historical legitimacy and validity, and the vindication of the title of the Church of Rome to a true churchly character, was not to assert that the proper course for Protestantism was to abandon its principle, and accept the status of by-gone ages; whereas, the course of the discussion was to conserve both principles, and to point to their harmonious adjustment in the Church of the Future. This later discussion soon extended to other points of doctrine, and centered at last in the question: *Is the Incarnation of Christ, or His sufferings, to be regarded as the central fact of Christianity?* It was the old puritanical doctrine of the centrality of the Atonement as against the christological, which holds for the centrality of the person of Christ, making

Him to be the alpha and the omega, and not a mere means to an end.

This controversy became very heated, and at one time threatened a division of the Church; but by the gracious leadings of the Holy Spirit it was brought to a close by the creation of the *Peace Commission*, when after cool and prayerful deliberation, both sides found themselves in harmony on the basis of the Heidelberg Catechism, and reached an agreement on the question of centrality, in the way of a compromise, sufficiently broad for both to stand upon, by the adoption of Article L, under the head of Doctrine, as contained in the report, which was adopted by the General Synod at its meeting in the city of Tiffin, Ohio, in the year 1881, which is as follows:

"We recognize in Jesus Christ and His sacrifice for fallen man, the foundation and source of our whole salvation."

At that same meeting of General Synod, in accordance with recommendation in the Report of the Peace Commission, a Liturgical Committee was appointed, who with great labor and care constructed the *Directory of Worship*, which in due time was accepted and adopted as an Ordinance of the Church.

As the outcome of the years of travail and conflict, through which it had pleased God in his wisdom and goodness, by the inspiration of his Holy Spirit, to conduct our church, we discern a clearer conscious apprehension of the distinction of Christianity as an organic order of fact, historically real, at once spiritual and yet comprehending the whole order of nature, to be apprehended by faith, and Christianity as a system of doctrinal truth to be apprehended by the understanding. As to the factual realm of faith, we recognize Jesus Christ, "the Word made flesh," as the Head of His body, the Church, from whom radiate all the nerves of life and energy—as also the pulsating heart, from whom flow to the remotest member of His body all the streams of grace and salvation. As to the realm of doctrine or systematic theology, we have been raised to a higher plane. While we accept the doctrine of the *Three Sovereigns*, the old Christianistic principle, as an un-

deniable and most precious truth, we yet discern it as merely co-ordinate with, or, if needs be, comprehending, the natural attributes of God, but neither organically nor logically comprehending His moral attributes. As such, it is but partial, not comprehending for thought the fullness of the Godhead. It, at best, is but a secondary principle, itself involved in something more profoundly fundamental. As the primary principle, comprehending the whole being of God, at once natural and moral, we discern in *love, the eternal norm of the divine will*. This alone can ever prove a sufficiently comprehensive and ultimate principle from which sanctified reason can deduce an adequate and exhaustive theology.

II.

THOUGHTS ON LITURGICAL CULTURE.

BY REV. A. R. KREMER, D.D.

QUESTIONS on Christian cultus will arise from time to time, and will not cease to be discussed, so long as Christian people are not in perfect accord on all doctrines and customs in the Church catholic.

The liturgical question is still open for discussion, and is by no means consigned to the place of fossils and things that have had their day. A Christian denomination may by solemn agreement agree to disagree on certain points on the subject; but it surely cannot mean that the subject itself must hereafter be forbidden fruit to be neither touched, tasted nor handled. Nor is it something dead and buried out of sight beyond all hope of a resurrection. It may be thought by some that the liturgy is dead; and in some places there may be good reason for the supposition—the more's the pity, inasmuch as all that is good and valuable in liturgics is, in such communities, no benefit to the people. Of course, it may be affirmed that a liturgy (a real liturgy) is an unmitigated evil, and the less known of it the better. But in the Reformed Church such an assertion could have no weight, for, as all ought to know, a full, strong, and moderately responsive liturgy, or Directory of Worship, has been adopted with great unanimity as the book of common prayer and service for the whole denomination. So that subjects relating to the liturgy are, or should be, of common interest. It is not necessary, nor would it be edifying, to renew the old discussions and fight the old battles. It would be labor lost to thresh the old straw, from which the grains of

corn have long ago separated. But that is no reason why the subject should not be publicly considered in any way, or be allowed to pass out of view and out of mind. That would imply that a liturgy is something for the Church to adopt simply in order to get rid of it, and have no more bother with it. But who will say that? Whatever some may *think*, they will still not venture to *say*, that the fruit of all those years of conflict, war, and finally peaceful solution, was of no consequence, a hollow peace, the emblem of it all being a *book*, a harmless book, occupying usually some quiet and obscure corner in the minister's library, to be taken down several times in a year to do service on sacramental and special occasions, and so manipulated, perhaps, as to keep the idea of a real liturgy as completely as possible from the minds of the people.

But such is not the case, and there is no denying that the Book exists, with all the authority, rights, and blessings, which the Reformed Church in the United States could endow it with and bestow upon it. It was prepared and ordered in good faith for clergy and laity, for their use and spiritual edification, and not to serve as a ruse for ending a controversy, or to be used (once for all) as oil to be poured out upon the troubled sea, the only desideratum seeming to be *calm, quiet, peace*. Surely if such were the only outcome of long and earnest labor for the honor, beauty and glory of Zion, and the praise of God, then it will be vain hereafter to talk of forward movements in the Church, of developments in doctrine, knowledge, cultus, life, growth; rather it will be in order to affirm that progress has no place in the history of Christ's kingdom; that the Church is like a stereotyped book and the everlasting hills, ever the same and finished.

But why should this subject lie still and not be allowed to move itself? Are there no questions to be asked and answered concerning it? Does it offer no suggestions to be considered even in these sweet days of peace? Indeed it would seem that now is the most auspicious time for all this, when we are in no fighting mood, and especially as there is plenty of room for dis-

cussion within the limits of the peace compact, and within the lids of the Directory of Worship. The settlement of the controversy does not carry with it the obligation of eternal silence. We are all of one mind, for instance, that Christ made atonement for sin, and yet a respectable number of ministers in all orthodox churches still keep on preaching about it, notwithstanding all the temptations to give it a decent burial and electrify audiences on some of the brilliant nineteenth century matters; we (some of us) still talk about faith, hope, charity, repentance, justification, as if these topics were just newly born; and the steady-going, quiet, orthodox people listen to it all as patiently as did earnest people when St. Paul stirred up all Judaism and Greek heathenism with the preaching of Christ crucified and justification by faith in His name. Then surely it would seem to be in order to advance some ideas on such a public ordinance of the Church as the Liturgy, which contains the scheme of worship which the Church in her wisdom prepared and constitutionally adopted.

Let this suffice; we mean to direct attention to the advantages of liturgical culture to the minister; whence the corollary: the corresponding advantages to the people; for if a minister has the true apostolic and Christian spirit, he will receive no gifts that may not redound to the benefit of the people under his pastoral care.

Not the least of the sacred duties of the minister is leading the public devotions of the congregation. And surely no one will say that it makes little difference how it is done. Even those who persistently call everything before the sermon "preliminary exercises," take note of the manner in which they are performed. The value of a public church service is very much affected by the character, in form and substance, of what are called the devotional parts of it, as well as by the preaching. Yet, as with everything else, the judgments on these will differ according to mood, temperament, degrees of intelligence, and especially the existence or non-existence of liturgical culture and knowledge. Devotional services that would grate upon

the ears and minds, and perhaps nerves, of some, might be very agreeable to others, and in a manner edifying. A thousand voices singing "Where is my boy to-night?" may be regarded by many as the Ultima Thule of human effort in Christian song service; while many others, differently trained and taught, could have no patience with such lugubrious sentimentalism as a part of Christian worship. On the other hand the Gloria or Te Deum, or some other grand hymn of the ages would scarcely be tolerated in some churches, where hymns, so-called, *about* this or that good or bad thing are most hospitably treated. *De gustibus non est disputandum*; but there is accounting for tastes; they are to be accounted for by the varieties in education. Even the most plain and illiterate people, trained under the liturgical and churchly system, are as much in sympathy with the hymns and prayers and other services embraced in it as the most refined liturgist. Such people are also quick to notice any defect in utterance, tone, or emphasis in one who leads in public worship. I once heard a Roman Catholic dignitary say that when a priest, as occasionally happens, makes a mistake, however slight, in the services of the altar, the people, of every degree of intelligence, are scandalized by it. This is another illustration of the proverb: As is the priest, so are the people. Culture in the minister very easily affects the people, the exceptions being the unympathetic ones, and others that are not susceptible of fine impressions. This indicates the importance of a minister's fitness for his several offices and duties, among which by no means least are those that pertain to what are properly called his priestly functions; that is, the liturgical office.

In churches where the service is "free," and no liturgy is used, there is still an unwritten liturgy; or if written at all it is after the service has been performed, as in the case of Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, while Mr. Beecher was pastor, and of some others. But even where the service comes and goes with the sound of the minister's voice, there is a liturgy of some kind, the quality of it depending, of course, upon the per-

son who utters it. He is the mouth-piece of the congregation more truly than if he used prescribed forms; for in the latter case the people are dependent on the book rather than on the minister for the words of the occasion. It will not be disputed then that the mouth-piece, so-called, should have qualifications peculiarly adapted to the office of conducting the devotional services of the Church. His work in this department can be done well, indifferently or badly, like any other work, and no one will deny that it should be done well. But, then, is there a standard by which to judge? As already intimated, what one would call proper and good, another might regard as the very opposite. Here is a nice point, and not supremely easy to settle. But the problem is not beyond solution. There are ground principles in liturgics which are axiomatic, and others, if not that, are at least of sufficiently catholic a nature to command a consensus of the cultured and liberal-minded among the different tribes of Israel. Christian people are more nearly agreed on this subject, after all, than most people imagine. As in dogmatics, the differences among the so-called orthodox is more formal than essential, so in regard to cultus it is about the same. There has been many a war after which the contestants wondered what it was all about. So of doctrinal and liturgical battles; the leading and essential ideas and beliefs have been common, with only slight differences among the liberal of all parties; and this always appears at the restoration of peace. It may be then assumed that there is an accepted standard of Christian cultus, accepted by all that are qualified to speak on the subject. The difference of opinion is on particulars, on certain forms, and on the extent of using a book in public worship, and not on the essentials of ritual. There are extreme ritualists who seem to make a fetish of the ritual, and who then really worship an idol; but that is no reason why others should not use the ritual in the worship of God.

But even if what has just been affirmed in regard to *consensus* should prove to be incorrect, it is still certain that, written or unwritten, all Christian Churches have a ritual and a cultus.

Where the entire worship is without a book, hymns excepted, there is, nevertheless, an order of service that is scrupulously followed, in which the prayers are supposed to be extemporized, or at least delivered in such form and manner. All will agree that not a few such public prayers (in which it is supposed the congregation mentally join) are more or less faulty, some exceedingly so, in which there seems to be small devotion and smaller sense. Now, it is here assumed, in this discussion, that there is perfect agreement among intelligent Christians that the minister in offering free prayer should be able to evolve from his mind and heart a form of sound words that may properly express the needs, desires, thankfulness and holy aspirations of the believing souls that are expected to join in the worship; or, in the language of Holy Scripture, that he should pray with the Spirit and with the understanding. In some pulpits there seems to be neither the one nor the other in the prayers offered; in some others, spirituality, but so incoherently expressed as to be understood only by such as have that peculiar gift of tongues or of discerning of spirits; and in many other pulpits the prayers (so called) have abundance of the understanding, but little or nothing spiritual. Here is where many of the intellectual and many of the popular pulpits err. I say pulpits, for in such quarters there is scarcely any idea of an altar. Take Mr. Beecher's liturgy, for example, (as set up in due form by his famous reporter, Mr. Ellenwood)—that is, the prayers before and after sermon. They surely read well, and reveal the peculiar and remarkable genius of their eloquent author, as certainly as do the sermons. But do they come up to the true idea of common prayer for minister and people? Not by a long way, unless we have entirely misunderstood the Bible and the historical Church. They are full of cold intellectuality, startling thoughts and flashing ideas; and only here and there, like an oasis in a desert, are true expressions of a child of God seeking after Him and giving Him thanks. For the most part, though beautiful in their way, they are deistical in form and expression, seldom in Christ's

name, with Christ rarely mentioned except in the last sentence : "To Thy name shall be the praise, Father, Son and Spirit." Sometimes the closing prayer, which is brief, comes up very closely to the liturgical standard; and one now before me closes with : "We ask it for Christ Jesus' sake"—a very rare thing in Mr. Beecher's prayers. Indeed, in one of his sermons he has an argument (such as it is) against saying "in Christ's name," or "for Christ's sake," and the instance just referred to is the only one I have seen. And yet Beecher's public prayers are like lovely gardens of the Lord as compared with many others that are vented in high-priced pulpits. Brilliant rhetoric, mercurial eloquence, lofty flights; or brave dashes at some of the naughty doings of men here and men there, in high places and in low places; side thrusts at persons that might chance to be present or a hawk-like descent upon the heads (figuratively speaking) of politicians and statesmen, whom they would fear to meet face to face; and so on to the end of the chapter of prayers falsely so called. Then a smaller race, the imitators, whose productions, called prayers, are simply intolerable except with people who have been accustomed to them all their lives and have been taught that a liturgy is an unmitigated evil. Some of these pulpiteers fly at the Lord like savages, in their "prayers," cutting and slashing right and left, as if the Lord should rather fear them than that they should stand in holy awe before Him. So from the highest intellectual and social grade of the ministry to the lowest we find most flagrant violations of the laws and principles of Christian cultus in public worship. The simplicity of ignorance can be excused. Improprieties uttered in prayer meetings by honest and simple-minded people are easily condoned. I never felt scandalized when a certain plain godly man, poor in worldly knowledge, but rich in Christian faith, would pour out his complaints before the Lord and confess that "we are so lazy in spiritual things and so good-for-nothing;" far better than many a so-called prayer made up of brilliant rhetorical periods for the delectation of a fashionable audience.

What has now been said relates, in general, to the important

matter of conducting public worship, or leading a Christian congregation in offering prayer and thanksgiving to God. This brings us to consider the qualifications in a minister for such work; that is, liturgical culture; and its advantages to the minister of the gospel and the people to whom he ministers.

One of the divisions in the great science of Theology is *Liturgics*. It is itself a science, and the minister should be thoroughly acquainted with it, because it treats of everything belonging to the service of the altar, where especially he exercises his priestly functions. Now, if the question were asked whether any good Christian is qualified to conduct this part of public worship, the answer would readily be given, from all directions, in the negative. Then it must be acknowledged that liturgical culture in some degree, and of some character, is necessary. But no one can become well versed, or at all, in this science unless he learns the nature and history of Christian liturgies, and what a liturgy or book of common worship ought to be, and becomes familiar with the book of his own denomination, which of course ought to be in harmony with the liturgical ideas in the Church from the beginning. The liturgy should contain all the essentials of worship and administration, and the minister should be guided by its genius and spirit even when he offers prayers in public without the direct use of the book. For, the preparation of a true liturgy has required the united wisdom and piety of the Church of all ages, and must contain (not in dogmatic, but in liturgical form) all the essential doctrines of Christianity. This being so, is it in keeping with the general culture of a minister that he should be unlearned, inexact and slipshod in the matter of worship? The Holy Spirit teaches how to pray, but He also employs the teaching Church to do this. The Spirit also helps a minister in preaching; then are theological seminaries of no use?

This culture in a minister will place him in touch with the Holy Catholic Church of all ages. It will show him that the Church as the body of Christ, the Church Catholic, has a voice, and utters it in prayer and praise, and that the individual

member has a voice only as being in communion with the Church. Then if the minister would not create discord in the body of Christ he must be skilled in liturgical knowledge, which is essential to a right understanding and appreciation of the article of faith: "I believe in the Holy Catholic Church." "That ye may with one mind and one mouth glorify God, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ" (Romans 15 : 6). There is properly one language for the Israel of God, which may be, however, and often is, corrupted by the ideas and phraseology of ignorance and of the world, just because the language is by many not understood. True liturgical language differs widely from those individually conceived thoughts and words in prayer which wander off into the descriptive, doctrinal, sentimental, oratorical, and often boldly conversational and even mandatory. John Wesley, in one of his writings, is emphatic in denunciation of all such improprieties, not to say blasphemies, in prayer; and it is well known that to the end of his life he was ardently attached to the scheme of common prayer that was an inheritance from Christ through the Church. It was liturgical culture that aided him materially as a leader of thought and action in the religious world; and that culture imparted a dignity and moral grandeur to the man that nothing else could have done. How could it be otherwise, since liturgical culture brings one into the inmost sanctuary of the Divine presence? It is in Christian cultus that the soul of the believer is "caught up into the third heaven" to hear "unspeakable words," and the words formed and uttered in the Church militant should be as nearly like the language of Paradise as the conditions of earth will allow, or as nearly as the Church in the wilderness can give expression to the thoughts and formulate the language of the heavenly Canaan; and the sacred Scriptures do not leave us altogether in the dark in regard to that language.

True liturgical culture will hold a minister to right words and thoughts in prayer; that is, free prayer, so much required in evangelical churches. It is not easy to know always how to express oneself properly when required to lead in prayer;

hence the great importance of liturgical knowledge. The amount of ignorance on this subject is truly amazing, and it crops out very frequently in the making of public and, what is supposed to be, common prayer. It would almost seem that some ministers go through this service chiefly to conform to a decent custom, and fill up a certain space. There are repetitions of the Divine name that affect unplesantly devoutly refined ears, and "we pray Thee" and "we thank Thee" repeated at almost every brief sentence. Worse still are the reasons given in the prayer for engaging in the service, and actually telling the Lord that we are here, what we are here for, what we are doing and propose to do; how we were created, and how we lapsed into sin, and so on. I heard a prayer thirty minutes in length (thoroughly edifying to the many grim old predestinarians that were taking it all in), in which the five points of Calvinism were made as clear as sunbeams. And that was one among thousands equally objectionable. In many such prayers the real praying is by far the least part. What is the matter? Just this: Those ministers received no training, or at least no proper training, in liturgics. For three years they heard lectures on every branch of theology except this one; much on preaching, little or nothing on praying, as if that came by "spontaneous generation." But Christ taught His disciples to pray, and the Church should follow His example in this as in everything else; and the theological seminary that fails to teach liturgics, also fails to a great extent to understand a theological seminary's business.

This knowledge is the holiest and best of all knowledge, and implies general theological training and culture. It is the best, because prayer, including the sacraments, is the means by which we hold communion with God. There is no question here in regard to the prayers of God's poor illiterate children; no matter how framed, they are sweet incense before the throne, and most acceptable; but, as in other things, so in this, the minister's liturgical culture should be immeasurably above theirs. He has pious people in his parish who can and do read

the Scriptures to their own spiritual edification ; but that is no reason why they should be regarded as proper persons to read the Scriptures publicly. For reasons just stated, liturgical culture is the highest and most important, and is so especially because, back of it, there must be general theological knowledge. The history and philosophy of Christian worship can only be understood in connection with the history and philosophy of Christianity itself. The whole subject of theology is involved in this one department of cultus ; and therefore the minister who has made an earnest study of it, and mastered it in all its contents and relations, has risen to a height from which he can survey and sweep, as with a telescope, the whole expanse and circle of theological science.

Then, too, liturgical culture in a minister tends to strengthen and increase his personal piety. On this subject he comes nearer to God than when engaged on any other. He may, indeed, be a mere formalist, and so, a hypocrite ; but he can be all that, and shun a liturgy as if it were a viper. We speak now of ministers who are sincere and godly men ; and it seems fair to believe that one of the chief means of a high order of spirituality in them is to be found in the cultivation of this peculiarly sacred branch of Christian theology. *Pectus theologum* just expresses a great truth—that Christian piety is the natural companion of theological culture, and that an ungodly theologian is a contradiction and a monstrosity. The idea is, that study of the sacred science promotes personal piety in the student ; how much more, then, that branch of it which relates to the Christian's contact and communion with the Most High ? No sincere person can study the Lord's Prayer and sound its mighty depths without gaining spiritual enlargement. But to do so properly, to study the model prayer as it ought to be studied, is to take a full course in liturgics. Such study must necessarily prevent the loose, dissipated and profane exhibitions that so often mar the services of God's house ; and the culture gained from such study must promote true Christian devotion and piety.

All such benefit to the minister, as already remarked, must be of corresponding benefit to the people. The pastor who properly conducts public religious services, and at the same time is possessed of a true devotional spirit, ennobled and refined by a genuine liturgical culture, must be in this, as well as in any other capacity, a medium of great spiritual good to the people of his charge. This is true whether the service of the altar is conducted with or without the book. Only one versed in liturgics can use a liturgy properly, or render a free service as it ought to be rendered. The manner in which prayers and other offices are frequently *read* is quite sufficient to drive out of the church door every particle of devotion that may have been brought in by devout people. To be able to conduct properly a liturgical service is the result of thorough theoretical and practical training, and is an essential part of liturgical culture, which consists not only in theory, but equally in the ability to put theory into practice. Possessed of that acquired gift, the minister is a leader that can be followed, whose voice becomes the voice of the congregation, or as many as join in the service. All who have made this subject a study know well how a congregation is affected by excellence in the performance at the altar—real excellence, such as is recognized by good people; for they are not slow to detect any or the least thing bordering on affectation in the minister's performance; the purity of simplicity and the simplicity of purity, backed and directed by knowledge, is what satisfies and edifies them; and only shallow and vain persons can endure and admire the altar and pulpit airs and attitudes of a superficial charlatan. Of course some vain persons may be attracted by the outward beauty of a sincerely and piously rendered liturgical service; but devout people are spiritually benefited, and their sense of the beautiful in worship is cultivated. It helps them to see the "beauties of holiness," and to form some correct idea of the worship of heaven. This finest of the fine arts, under the direction of a true minister, is supremely elevating, leading and alluring the mind toward the highest good, the spiritual and the heavenly.

If the service is free, the congregation will be greatly benefited if the officiating minister is a thorough liturgist. If he has no correct knowledge of Christian cultus, and if he prays in a hap-hazard, loose and desultory manner, he will cultivate in his people a low and vicious religious taste. And which of the two results is the more desirable? Some questions answer themselves.

The commonest people, and the most uncultured, as well as any others, are richly benefited by a minister well versed in this branch of theology. The higher his culture in this respect, the more easily he can adapt himself to the ignorance, prejudices, or simplicity of his flock. If the reverse is true, then what is the higher general and theological learning good for? For if the gospel is not in a very special sense for the poor and ignorant, then the good and wise of all the Christian ages have been under a great misapprehension. And in this particular matter of worship none are so able and willing to guide, instruct and elevate the minds of the common people as are those who best understand the nature and character of Christian worship and service.

The Reformed Church is, or ought to be, deeply interested on this subject. The many years of earnest labor in this work, and the results obtained, should not be forgotten nor lightly esteemed. Nor do we think there was much in the controversy of those days to be regretted in this time of peace. Hard blows were delivered from both sides, and it looked more than once as if the old mother Church of Reformed Protestantism would be rent in twain; but both sides were equally in earnest and equally conscientious, both seeking after what might be found true and right in Christian cultus, and each producing a provisional liturgy which proved beyond question that the issue was not liturgy or no liturgy. And still more on the conservative side (as it may be called) there was no insisting on a mere hand-book of necessary forms for the convenience of the minister, but, as their liturgical work proved, they too occupied an advanced position on this question. War of such character is far from being an unmitigated evil; and those on either side

who stood off during the conflict, and uttered harsh things without wisdom, were generally the most disagreeable partisans, and many times more malignant than they who earnestly, and with more or less intelligence, contended for what they believed to be the truth. Peace, when it is real and genuine, is heaven itself; but that lazy kind which is the companion of indifference, or false security, is more to be dreaded than war. When Christ came into the world there was profound peace throughout the vast Roman dominions; but it was the silent calm that precedes the bursting cloud and quaking earth—war and its horrors. The peace of Christ, of which the angels sang, can come only through sharp conflict. “I came not to send peace, but a sword.” Matt. 10: 84. It is through war of ideas and opinions that truth appears, bright and glorious; and the liturgical war through which the Church passed, while by no means free from sin, which is an element in all such contests, showed the active working of the mind of the Church, and her zeal in seeking after a cultus that would be another jewel in the crown of the Lord’s Bride. And as the sword cannot devour forever, and especially as the Spirit of Christ moved upon the troubled waters and filled our Zion with the spirit of love and peace, there came a day, in God’s own good time, when it was enough and the war was over; and in due season the result appeared in a consensus uniting all wings and parties, and in a formulated cultus that is the possession of all alike in the noble historic Reformed Church in the United States.

Now the question is, Shall interest in liturgics continue to be cultivated and fostered? or shall the coming generation of clergy and laity care little or nothing about it? Shall ministers cease to occupy their minds with the subject, or shall their later contemporaries and successors give it small attention, and so lack that culture which should be the glory of their theological acquisitions?

What has now been said has not been suggested by the spirit of controversy, with the design of stirring up old feuds. We are at peace, thanks to the God of peace; and we do not wish

to see the old tattered ensigns of war floating over our beloved Zion. *But we have a liturgy*, which is the common possession of every son and daughter of the Reformed Church in the United States; and it is of such a character and quality that it implies and demands all that is said in this argument, and much more. It enshrines the results of our liturgical labors; and the minister who may regard it simply as a covenant sign of peace, a heap of stones set up to remind every one belligerently inclined of an agreement to let by-gones be by-gones and not mention the subject again, has yet everything to learn in liturgics. On the contrary, the Book is an ordinance of the Church, and the Church has thus set her seal on the right and the duty of her ministry to become well grounded in the liturgical principles contained therein. A minister of the Reformed Church not possessed of the liturgical culture which her Directory of Worship implies, and demands of her clergy, is, to put it mildly, rather one-sided in his qualifications for the sacred calling.

Our younger clergy may not fully realize the fact—but the older ones do—that our liturgical studies during the classic and golden period of our history as a church, completely revolutionized the thought and practice of a former generation in regard to worship. The improvement in our public services, even where the Book has been sparingly used, has been truly wonderful. Formerly, within the memory of many of us, there were scarcely any ideas at all on the subject among the laity, and none to spare among the ministry. Not a few of the latter are yet living, and active in their holy calling, who for years, in the olden time, conducted public services without a thought of any liturgical principle that should rule. They surely remember how they searched through the old hymn-book for the most startling hymns to be sung at wicked sinners. How I used to hear my good pastor read, with thrilling and nervous action and emphasis, about every third time he preached, the fiery hymn:

“Your way is dark and leads to hell;
Why will you persevere?
Can you in endless torments dwell,
Shut up in black despair?”

And all liked it, too, just as a born slave likes his bondage; for when such hymns were read we could hardly wait for the lively performance that was sure to follow when the text (a terrible one) would be announced. They seemed to know nothing about a Church Year, and the people would have been amazed at the mention of it; so that Christmas, Easter, Ascension and Pentecost were never thought of as having any relation to each other in the order of time. If Whitsunday had immediately followed Easter, there would have been no questions asked. Advent, Epiphany, Lent, and Trinity were seen in the secular almanac; and it was generally understood that there those mystic things belonged, and there only. They seemed perfectly proper in such place, the same as those mysterious astronomical signs, which were universally acknowledged as essential to an almanac. The preaching, as many can testify, was good, but exceedingly defective in this, that the sermons, to each other, had no logical nor theological relations. So, in crazy-quilt style, the preacher, as to the *order* of his sermons, proceeded from year to year. No wonder, then, that something of a tempest was raised when the shaking-up was begun by the leaders in the Church. And now what do we see and hear? The Creed is as familiar, in a majority of our churches, as the alphabet; the mention of the Church Year and its holy seasons (not *days* simply) excites no wonder; the Lord's Prayer is said in unison without a word of protest; the sight of a cross on or within a church no longer racks the nerves or excites the horror of men and women; and so we might go on. Those same ministers, many of them, though nearing the line that marks their earthly pilgrimage, having intelligently fallen in with the revolution, have, during all these better years, pursued their high calling in a new and awakened state of existence, so that now, venerable with age, they are still young in spirit from breathing the atmosphere of a true church life. The change has been immensely for the better; the advance has been in the right direction; and let our vigorous young clergymen, and those coming on, see to it that there be no halt and

no retrograde movement in the matter of thorough liturgical culture.

It has not been thought necessary nor proper to raise the question here—whether or not either the Eastern or the Western provisional “Order of Worship” should still be used, if desired. The topics here discussed are too broad and catholic to admit of any argument on what is an entirely separate question, one that can be safely left to the future for an answer, and meanwhile to the free judgment of pastors and people.

Berlin, Pa., Feb. 7th, 1894.

III.


HAS THE THEORY OF PLENARY INSPIRATION BEEN INVALIDATED BY THE LATEST IN- VESTIGATIONS OF BIBLICAL CRITICISM?

BY REV. MAURICE G. HANSEN.

THE inquiry opens up a field of discussion the vastness of which must be conceded on account of, even as it is owing to, (1) the existence of doubts upon the subject which that inquiry concerns, extensively prevalent and clamorously aggressive in the expression of them; (2) the marvelous activity of the spirit of research; (3) the suspicion that the criticism of which the Bible is the object, is pursued rather with the aim of weakening confidence in its credibility—and hence its value for practical life—than with that of strengthening the ground upon which its authenticity, and hence its authoritativeness in reference to the most momentous utterances that can be addressed to the human race in its state of moral deflection, guilt and condemnation, may be acknowledged; and finally, (4) the conviction that the Bible as we have it, a message from the Father in heaven to His children on earth, from the God of all grace to His rational creatures imperiled by sin for eternity, is a treasure so incomprehensibly great that too much care cannot be taken for its preservation; too many safeguards cannot be thrown around it for its protection; too much labor cannot be devoted to the effort to secure it intact for the instruction, the guidance and the comfort of the remotest generations. “There never was a time,” the Rev. Dr. Archibald Alexander remarked in the preface to his work on the Canon, “when the friends of the Bible as an inspired volume

had a more important duty to perform in its defense than the present (A.D. 1851). The assaults upon the plenary inspiration of the sacred Scriptures are perhaps more dangerous because more plausible and insidious than when divine inspiration is openly denied. On this subject the friends of revelation must be firm and not yield an inch of the ground hitherto occupied by the orthodox. 'If the foundations be destroyed, what can the righteous do?' If there were reasons for such an alarm-cry then, what are they not now, forty-three years later, when the assaults are more dangerous still, because more plausible and insidious than ever! In the treatment of our topic we propose, in the first place, to present the definitions of the theory of plenary inspiration that are given, not only by its friends, but also by its foes; and, also, the titles applied to it in the way, respectively, of designation and derision.

The book which, on the two-fold ground of its origin and its *raison d'être*, is called, in distinction from all other books, the Bible, or *the Book*, comprises the two Covenants or Testaments, known as the Old and the New, set forth in sixty-six books, written by forty different men, of different countries, at intervals more or less distant during fifteen hundred years. The contents of these books are very diverse, and, relating to history, law, religion and morals, and embracing poetry, prophecy and doctrinal and practical discourses, they cover the whole of man's present necessities and future destiny. For this book, so constructed and containing such things, infallibility, or absolute freedom from error in regard to those matters which it purports to teach, are claimed by all who hold, confess and maintain that these forty men were fully inspired by the Spirit of God to write what they did write; and, of their productions, it is ever to be affirmed, both in reference to the fact or substance, and the method or form of their productions, that they are the fruit of such divine inspiration. This assertion involves the themes of Inspiration in general; Inspiration as distinct from, yet implying, revelation; canonicity, or the stable grounds under, and the reliable result of, the recognition, in reference to any



particular book, of the fact of its having been inspired; and lastly, interpretation, or the exegetical process of the evolution from the Scripture of the fundamental doctrines of the Christian religion. Now these several themes, left behind by the very form of our inquiry, in which already a *theory* of inspiration is mentioned, therefore are not now to be taken up, but they are presumed to be understood when at any time there is an allusion to them in the variously stated conceptions, on the one hand, by the supporters of, and on the other, by the dissenters from, that which is included in the phrase, the theory of plenary inspiration. That theory was set forth, soon after the Reformation, in the full enunciation of its substance, rather than by name, since the necessity had not yet arisen of distinguishing it nominally from other propounded theories to be mentioned later. Not to quote the Latin of J. H. Quenstadt, who was an extremist in the entertainment of the plenary inspiration view, it may suffice to reproduce the representation of his idea by Tutor William Lee, of Trinity College, Dublin, in his elaborate work, "The Inspiration of Scripture." Speaking of the system of fixing exclusive attention upon the Divine agency exerted in the composition of the Bible, he says that, according to it, "each particular doctrine or fact, contained in Scripture, whether in all respects naturally and necessarily unknown to the writers, or which, although it might have been ascertained by them in the ordinary course of things, they were not in point of fact acquainted with; or in fine, everything, whether actually known to them or which might become so by means of personal experience or otherwise, each and every such point has not only been committed to writing under the infallible assistance and guidance of God, but is to be ascribed to the special and immediate suggestion, embreathment and dictation of the Holy Ghost. Nor does this hold true merely with respect to the sense of Scripture and the facts and sentiments therein recorded, but each and every word, phrase and expression, as well as the order and arrangement of such words, phrases and expressions, has been separately supplied, breathed into (as it

were) and dictated to the sacred writers by the Spirit of God." This was the view of Calvin, who emphatically proclaimed, in the first book of his "Institutes of the Christian Religion," that the whole of Holy Scripture had no less an Author than God Himself, appealing for confirmation of his assertion to the testimony of the Holy Ghost. Even in our own day this view is said by the late Professor Van Oosterzee to have had able champions in Switzerland in the persons of Gausson and De Gasparin.

If now with this representation of the import of the plenary theory we compare that made by the late Professor Charles Hodge in his great work, "Systematic Theology"—which indeed is a noble monument to his fame—we shall find that the theory does not exclude the human side of the communication of God's revelation to the world, and thus considerably weakens Lee's statement that the theory cannot stand the test of a strict examination. "All the books of Scripture," says Professor Hodge, "are equally inspired. All together are infallible in what they teach. Inspiration extends to all the contents of these several books. It is not confined to moral and religious truths, but extends to the statement of facts, whether scientific, historical, or geographical. It is not confined to those facts the importance of which is obvious, or which are involved in matters of doctrine. It extends to everything which any sacred writer asserts to be true. The inspiration of the Scripture extends to the words. This view is known as the doctrine of plenary inspiration; it denies that inspiration is confined to parts of the Bible, and affirms that it applies to all the books of the sacred Canon. It denies that the sacred writers were merely partially inspired; it asserts that they were fully inspired as to all that they teach, whether of doctrine or fact. It does not imply that the sacred writers were infallible except for the special purpose for which they were employed; that they were imbued with plenary knowledge; that they did not differ among themselves as to insight into the truths which they taught, or that they were free from errors in conduct." In

respect to that feature of the plenary theory, that it claims inspiration also for the language of the Bible, this idea was carried by some in the middle of the eighteenth century, and at the present time also, to the extent that even the vowel-points of the Hebrew Old Testament were directed of God. The followers of Voetius, a celebrated professor of theology in the University of Utrecht, on the orthodox side, "hurled," says Hurst in his "History of Rationalism," "all the curses and plagues of the Bible against every one who whispered that there could be a mistake in the transcription of a word, or even of a Hebrew vowel-point"; and Rev. George S. Bishop, the Vedder lecturer of 1883, in New Brunswick, N. J., strenuously contended for the divine origin of the vowel-points of the original Old Testament Scriptures.


A curious book which recently has interested scholarly lovers of the Bible is entitled, "Inspiration—a clerical symposium on, In what sense and within what limits is the Bible the Word of God?" Writers, representing various sections of the Church—Jews and Roman Catholics; Anglicans, Wesleyans and Congregationalists; Unitarians and Swedenborgians, stated on the pages of the Homiletic Magazine their convictions in regard to the nature and the degree of the inspiration of the Bible. The several papers were sent forth by the editor of the Magazine in book-form, and were published in London. From these we may obtain information concerning the idea which in the present day is entertained of the substance of the theory about which it is asked whether it is now being invalidated. The majority of the authors oppose it, though a few are semi-supporters, or modified endorsers, of it. One of them, the Rev. Preb. Stanley Leathes, appears to have a strong leaning towards it, and consequently draws down upon himself the wrath of the Ven. Archdeacon Farrar whose indignant protest against the theory I shall have occasion to quote a little further on. Dr. Leathes, however, imprudently exposes himself to the sword-thrusts of men of the Robertson Smith school. He had written indeed: "We may rightly say that it is the organic

whole (of the Bible) that is inspired, and not merely the individual parts." But afterwards he delivered himself in this fashion: "The Bible in theological science consists of the original documents, uncopied and untranslated. The Bible of our daily life is the result of many translations of documents repeatedly copied, and, it must be added, somewhat variously copied. It must, therefore, be clearly understood that divine authority cannot be claimed for anything which is not a correct translation of an exact copy of an originally authorized utterance and writing. Here is a wide field for antiquarian research and for scholarly criticism. Whenever these can establish the claim of a various reading, or a revised translation, then the translation, or the reading, must be regarded as having its lawful place in the Word of God." Prof. J. R. Thompson quotes Canon Wilberforce, whose words are in the third volume of his life: "My belief is this: The whole Bible comes to us as the Word of God under the sanction of God the Holy Ghost. We cannot pick and choose amid its contents; all is God's Word to us. A careful scrutiny of the Bible reveals to us the different manners in which the Holy Ghost spoke; sometimes by the mere mechanical use of the human agent who conveyed the message, as when God wrote words on the first tables; dictated them for the second; committed them to prophets simply to repeat, or, spake them through prophets; and sometimes by possessing the human instrument with a complete knowledge of that he was to speak, and leaving him to express it under the mere suggestion and guardianship of His own special presence, and according to the natural use of the human faculties." Prof. Thompson dissents from these views; but still he hangs on to Dr. Leathes' organic whole plan. "The Bible," he says, "is no longer regarded as one book, or consulted in an indiscriminating way as a collection of oracles every word of which is of equal authority with every other. It is rather thought of as an organic product, each part of which has a relation to the other parts; the whole of which was conceived in the divine mind and wrought out gradually through long centuries." The

Rev. Page Hopps is a Unitarian. "Some hold," he wrote, "that the Bible is altogether a supernatural book, and all alike the Word of God." As if to help us in our inquiry what the theory of plenary inspiration claims for itself, even in the opinion of those who *in toto* reject it, he asks: "What is inspiration?" and he replies to his own question in this manner: "The hitherto accepted view is that it is the Scriptural or miraculous influencing of certain chosen persons to enable them to transmit an infallible message from God—these persons being limited to the men who wrote the Bible." Of the paper of Rev. Edward White, a pastor in London, and an author of some note, Archdeacon Farrar affirms that it is the ablest and clearest of them all, this high eulogy being drawn out by the fact that upon the topic of the symposium the two men are in full sympathy of opinion, and that Mr. White seems to have given the Archdeacon a text upon which the latter descants with all the brightness of imagination and the flow of language which render his "Life of Christ," his "Early Days of Christianity," and his "Seekers after God" such attractive reading. "The ecclesiastical idea of the Bible," says Mr. White, "is that it is one book consisting of many parts, each of which has received the sanction of the Church in the earlier Christian ages, as authentic and divinely inspired; so that the whole Hebrew and Greek Bible, from Genesis to Revelation, is alike and equally the Word of God. Each writer is a mere pen of the omniscient Spirit, by whom he was preserved from every minute mistake or partial representation. . . . The ecclesiastical Canonists content themselves with binding together in one book all the histories, poems, prophecies and dogmatic writings of the men who lived in contact with the Revelation of God during many ages, and with asserting, concerning the whole collection, one simple principle of a direct verbal inspiration." Prof. Israel Abrahams is, as his name indicates, a Jew. Hence his remark applies only to the Old Testament, of which he declares that, "together with the oral tradition, it, in the conception of the Rabbis, is the Word of God and the *whole* Word of God."

The Right Rev. Bishop Weathers, on the contrary, is a Roman Catholic, and he consequently includes in his Bible of the Old and New Testaments, the Apocrypha. "It is not enough," he observes, "to hold that the books of the Old and the New Testaments were in their origin the fruit of human industry, and were adopted by the Church which put the seal of her approbation upon them. Neither is it sufficient to hold that they contain the truths of revelation without any admixture of error. We are required to believe something more, viz., that they have been delivered to the Church as having been written under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, and as having God for their author. Catholics believe, therefore, that the Sacred Scriptures *are* the Word of God; not merely that they *contain* the Word of God."

Before quoting Archdeacon Farrar, whose words may serve us as a transition to the second part of this paper, in which we wish to present the grounds upon which the plenary inspiration theory is assailed, it may be well to mention the appellations which are attached to that theory, either in the way of honest designation, or in that of scornful derision. Dr. Charles Hodge speaks of it as "the Church-doctrine," in respect to the adoption of which title he is imitated by Rev. Edward White who, as we have seen, calls it "the ecclesiastical theory." The latter, however, not obscurely hints at the bias of his mind in reference to it when he also styles the theory that of "an outward canonic infallibility," and that of "a uniformly verbal theopneustra." To Canon Wilberforce it is the "orthodox," and the "verbal" theory; Dr. Charles Hodge also employing the same descriptive adjectives. Prof. Abrahams calls it the theory of a direct divine inspiration. Prof. George Hill who, forty years ago, lectured on theology in St. Mary's College, St. Andrews, in his Work on "Divinity," speaks of it as the theory of "inspiration of suggestion and direction," and the late Prof. Van Oosterzee, in his "Christian Dogmatics," with the comprehensive terseness of expressing a great deal in a few words, for which he was remarkable, distinguishes the theory of plenary inspiration



as that of an inspiration which is "absolutely unlimited." And now let us listen to Archdeacon Farrar, as he delivered himself in the *Homiletic Magazine*: "When the general phrase—Word of God, as applied to the Bible—is pressed into the superstitious (I had almost said the fetish-worshipping) dogma that every word and letter of these sixty-six books proceeded supernaturally from God, and that the sacred writers were (to use one phrase adopted by the supporters of verbal inspiration) 'not only the penmen, but the pens of the Holy Ghost,' that phrase becomes not only unintelligible, but profoundly dangerous. This post-reformation dogma I reject as utterly untenable, the daughter of an unspiritual superstition, and the mother of a casuistical tyranny. To say that every word and substance and letter of Scripture is Divine and supernatural, is a mechanical and useless shibboleth, nay more, a human idol, and (constructively) a dreadful blasphemy." Certainly, this is strong language. If there be any doubt as to whether the latest investigations of Biblical Criticism invalidate the theory of plenary inspiration, there can be none whatever that the latest efforts of sledge-hammer iconoclasm are intended utterly to annihilate it; we say the latest, for that hammer has been wielded with more or less determination ever since the days of Prof. Semler, whom Hurst calls "the father of the destructive school of rationalism," and who proved himself a singularly pious man in practical life, in spite of the boldness of his mind's attitude toward the Holy Volume.

Our inquiry into the objections which Biblical Criticism has raised against the theory of plenary inspiration, results indeed in the discovery that they are numerous, but not that they are unanswerable, even though the supporters of that theory are said to be compelled, by the difficulties they encounter, to resort to evasions of the kind proposed by Paguinus, whom Archdeacon Farrar quotes: "*Quicquid in sermone divine neque ad piorum honestatem, neque ad fidei veritatem proprie referri potest, figuratum esse cognoscas*,"—whatever in the word of God cannot properly be referred to the honor of the devout, nor to the truth

of the faith, thou must recognize as figurative." Probably not one of these objections would be excluded by those who entertain them from the results of the investigations to which the question at the head of this paper alludes. Hence they may appropriately be noticed here. But, if we be reminded that that inquiry qualifies the term "investigations" by the adjective "latest," it may well be asked, Where shall the line between earliest and latest be drawn? A somewhat comprehensive statement of these objections, therefore, may not be amiss, especially in preparation for the appreciation of what we propose to advance in description of the substitutes that are offered for a theory which so many are disposed instantly to consign to *limbo patrum*. The grounds upon which the theory is rejected are:

1. Its superfluity, because "some parts of the Bible relate to common things—to those which might have been known from other sources, hence the absurdity of the introduction of a revelation when the bodily senses and natural reason were fully adequate for the purpose."

2. The ephemeral character of a large part of the Bible, which treats of the local and the temporary, between which and the permanent and eternal a distinction should certainly be made. The German rationalist Baur goes further, in the statement that the Bible was written for a time-serving end, namely, that of harmonizing, during the second century, the Pauline and Petrine parties, and that it is undeserving of the value we attach to it. According to Pastor Ulich, the leader of the Protestant Friends of Light in 1841, the Scriptures are very good in their way. They are a witness for the faith of the first times; but they never were intended for these cultivated days.

3. The Bible is full of repetitions, as for instance, the records of the words and the acts of our Saviour, and the accounts of the conversion of Saul, afterwards named Paul. Prof. Thompson says in the "Symposium" that he wishes the space taken up by such repetitions had been filled up with matter not now given. Sherer, the leader of the liberal Protestant Union in

France, finds fault on the ground that there is no exactness in these repeated accounts, since they are described in different contexts and words. "What right have we," he asks, "to accept as infallible that in which we find such admixture of error?" Even in the Old Testament this repetition with a variation of wording is found, as, for example, David's poetical composition, in 2 Sam. 22, reproduced in the Psalms.

4. The Bible contains parts of little interest to sinners of the Gentiles, as for instance, sections of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the whole of the Apocalypse. A far lower degree of inspiration, if any at all, must be attributed to them. Prof. Thompson, also, with reference to the distinction between revelation and inspiration, sees none of the former in the Books of the Chronicles and the Proverbs; but a degree of the latter than which that required for the production of the Psalms and the prophecies is much superior.

5. The Bible is full of errors of fact, of chronology and of numbers.

6. The unsettled state of the Canon which, as is claimed by the opponents of the theory of plenary inspiration, can be accounted for thus: (1) The conception of a homogeneous verbal inspiration, as attending to each and all of the Books of the Bible, is an ecclesiastical opinion not resting on any inspired authority. (2) There are decided internal evidences of the uninspired character of Ezekiel and Ecclesiastes, the former being found in total disagreement with the Pentateuch, and the latter to contain glaring contradictions. (3) The different Books are composite, progressive, of unequal value, and of a fragmentary and multifarious character, and the idea of revelation most complex. Hence a difference of opinion constantly as to what Books shall finally be received into, and complete, the Canon.

7. Evident interpolations, the discovery of which weakens confidence in the genuineness of the rest of the contents of a book in which they are found.

8. Faults of style and of grammar, even in the original Hebrew and Greek Scriptures. Guizot dwells upon them in his

Meditations on the Essence of Christianity, adducing in support of his position the examples solicited by him from Prof. Munk, and also, as respects New Testament Greek, from the author's own son; which examples, however, are set aside and disproved by the late Prof. Tayler Lewis in a learned essay that has been bound up by the American publishers of Guizot's work with his volumes.

9. The Bible contains many difficulties—scientific, ethical, historical, and doctrinal. Each of these four classes is emphasized by the opponents of the plenary theory; but special stress is laid upon the second class, viz., the moral, since the Bible, it is claimed, attributes dark and cruel things to God, or as having been done at His instigation.

10. Several parts of the Bible are obscure and inexplicable, say the critics of the race of Abraham, "notwithstanding the light shed upon them by the inspired oral tradition." These also object to the anthropomorphisms mentioned in the Bible. "In what sense," they ask, "can that be the Word of God which represents Him as seeing and hearing, as possessed of hands, as forming resolutions, and then repenting of his determination?"

11. Both the Old Testament and the New contain accounts of miracles. These, singly and collectively, constitute *ὁ σταυρὸς τῶν φιλοσόφων*, *crux theologorum*, the cross of the advanced thinkers, as they consider themselves. The denial of the possibility of such wonder-works, and, of course, the rejection of the narratives as truthful records, is the condemnation, *in toto*, of the Bible as an infallible testimony. The theory of plenary inspiration is not opposed more decidedly and positively on any other ground.

12. As a reward of the indefatigable labors in the department of what is styled "higher criticism," it has been discovered that Moses was not the author of the first five Books of the Bible that bear his name; and also, that these and the Book of Joshua, which, with them, compose the hexateuch, belong not even to the period of the great legislator and his successor, the

valiant Captain of Israel, but they are post-exilic, their existence not dating back to a time anterior to the year 800 B. C. If the Bible be viewed as a column resting upon a base, the destructive criticism directed against the five Books of Moses and that of Joshua, is the attempt at the removal of this base, leaving the column without any support, suspended, like Mahomet's coffin, in mid-air. Prof. Godwin, in his article entitled, "The Mosaic Cosmogony," in the notorious *Essays and Reviews*, published a little more than a quarter of a century ago, declares that the writer of the opening chapters of the Book of Genesis, "had no authority whatever for what he asserts so solemnly and unhesitatingly, since he was merely a speculator who stated as facts what he only conjectured as probabilities." The framers of the system of what is called "Modern Theology," of whom, in the Netherlands, Pierson was one of the leaders, with the principle "no authority," announced that the Books of the Bible were produced neither by the supposed authors, nor at the alleged dates. This was the manner of the foe's approach, not more than a decade since, toward the fortress over which floats the flag of plenary inspiration. At about the period of the *Essays and Reviews*, the theological world, yes, we may say, the Christian world, was startled by the utterances that sounded across the seas from the shores of Africa. Bishop Colenso, aiming to fix the real origin, age and authorship of the so-called narratives of Moses and Joshua, sought to overthrow the historical character of the early Scriptural history, by exposing the contradictions and impossibilities contained therein. The bald assertions that are found in the compositions of the followers of Eichhorn, Strauss, Rénan and Colenso, are succeeded by the scholarly critique of such men as Wellhausen, Kuenen, and Robertson Smith whose twelve lectures on the Old Testament in the Jewish Church are exceedingly instructive and interesting. Although the works of these men are most scholarly, they are not the less to be carefully watched. The sharp spikes which the Zulus fix in the ground and then cover with green leaves and forest flowers,


are most likely, for this latter fact, to pierce the feet of the soldiers who fail to be on their guard against the enemy's skill and cunning. The course of criticism relating to the Hexateuch is briefly traced by the editor of the defensive essays, furnished by professors in the theological seminaries of various Protestant denominations throughout the country, and published under the name, "Moses and his Recent Critics." From this retrospect of the Higher Criticism applied to the first six Books of Scripture, which began about the middle of the eighteenth century, we learn that then Astruc, a learned physician, who still admitted that Moses was the author of the Books from Genesis to Deuteronomy, suggested the idea that they were composed from older documents which he denominated the Elohistie and the Jehovistic. The wedge then inserted subsequently received the force of very ponderous blows, and the opening constantly became wider. In 1800, Geddes declared that the Pentateuch is composed of fragments which have no logical nor chronological connection. This opinion was accepted and elaborated by Hartman in 1831. Seven years afterwards Tuch revived the original Elohistie-document plan; but he differed somewhat from Astruc in that he stated that a Jehovistic writer made additions to the document which he found prepared to his hand. Just a century after the last-named critic, that is, in 1853, Hupfield announced that not two, but three continuous historical compositions lie at the base of the Pentateuch: two Elohistie and one Jehovistic—which by a later editor were combined into a connected account. In 1861 Knobel said that the Jehovistic writer drew his information from a sub-source, a document entitled "Das Rechtbuch und das Kriegsbuch," that is, a judicial code and a set of military annals. During the following year Prof. Kuenen, of the University of Leyden, who, in respect to the methods of the Higher Criticism may be regarded as Colenso's twin brother, undertook to show that the precise details of the history in the Books of Moses and Joshua are the least consistent with the laws of possibility; and, at the same time, Popper,

a Jew, arguing from the divergencies by which the Samaritan and the LXX. texts are distinguished from the Massoretic, declared that the legislation concerning the building of the tabernacle and the consecration of the priests, did not take its present shape until long after the exile. In his opinion the original document was the result of a lengthy revision which received its finishing touches from the Scribes who succeeded Ezra. Finally, Graff, in 1866, promptly took the whole of the first Elohist, history as well as laws, out of the Mosaic period, and transferred them to an age, more or less sharply defined, following the restoration of the tribes of Judah from the Babylonish captivity. The contemplation of the wisdom that discerned the various documents, written by other men than Moses, and centuries after the conflict over his body in a locality unknown to mortal man; documents designated by the letters J, E, D and P, and documents designated by the combinations of these letters, quite takes away our breath. How strange that our Lord should so often have referred to Moses by name, as the speaker, or the writer, of the words which He, the Divine Teacher, saw occasion to quote from the Old Testament Scripture! What a dreadful mistake Abraham in glory made, when he informed Dives in torment that his brothers still on earth had Moses and the prophets!

The inquiry which we are discussing so far having been considered in the way of a statement of that which the theory of the plenary inspiration of the Bible comprises, and also of the grounds upon which it has been, and is, assailed, has an answer to it attempted in the way of a presentation of the substitutes that are offered for it. If but one of these be a satisfactory one, then the reply may be, without any circumlocution, categorically in the affirmative. If not, then for the glory of the condescending Revealer, and for the sake of the race dead in trespasses and sin, the negative response cannot be too pronounced. In mentioning these substitutionary theories we, in every instance but two, devised for it a name by which it possibly may be designated. We begin, then, with what I call the

semi-theistic theory. It holds a middle position between the non-inspiration view of the deist, and the all-inspiration opinion of the orthodox. The revelation which it admits it confines to the sphere of human knowledge. The greatest stress it lays in that revelation on the thought of man, and hence it is utterly inadequate, since the highest culture and development even can produce nothing more than what is human in a condition of need which calls for nothing less than the divine.

Of the *philosopho-religious self-productive* theory the celebrated Schleiermacher was the originator. It claims that there is nothing in the Old Testament which the Adamic nature was not adequate to produce; nothing in the New Testament which Christianity, the life of the Church, a life common to all believers, is not sufficient to account for. Morell expounded this theory in his "Philosophy of Religion." He says: "Revelation is a process of the intuitional consciousness gazing upon eternal verities. Revelation and inspiration indicate one united process, the result of which upon the human mind is to produce a state of spiritual intuition whose phenomena are so extraordinary, that we at once separate the agency by which they are produced from any of the ordinary principles of human development. . . . Inspiration indicates the elevation of the religious consciousness, and with it, of course, the power of spiritual vision to a degree of intensity peculiar to the individuals thus highly favored of God. . . . The Bible cannot, in strict accuracy of language, be termed a revelation, since a revelation always implies an actual process of intelligence in a living mind; but it contains the records in which those minds who enjoyed the preliminary training, or the first brighter revelations of Christianity, have described the scenes which awakened their own religious nature to a new life, and the high ideas and aspirations to which that new life gave origin." This theory, attractive no doubt to the contemplative and less practical mystic, does not allow to the Bible a nominal authority as a rule of faith. Regarded as containing only the thoughts of even holy men, the forms in which their understandings without super-



natural aid clothed the intuitions due to their religious feelings, the Bible must necessarily lack the perfectness of which not even the holiest man is possessed, hence also infallibility; and therefore it cannot but be an unreliable guide out of the labyrinths of error and guilt unto the open fields of truth and purity.

Somewhat akin to Schleiermacher's theory is that of *the ordinary spiritual influence*. The sacred writers, as the supporters of this third substitute teach, were under the guidance of an influence such as is common to every believer. The parts of the Bible which contain no special revelations are to be regarded as the devotional writings, or the historical narratives, of devout but fallible men. This theory was endorsed and maintained by the Rev. F. D. Maurice in his *Theological Essays*. He required that "we must forego the demand which we make on the conscience of young men when we compel them to declare that they regard the inspiration of the Bible as generally unlike that which God bestows on His children in His day." This theory, though it indeed exalts the person who is a subject of the operation of sanctifying grace, fails to make a proper distinction between those whom God chose to be His messengers, His prophets, His spokesmen, and other men. If the writings of such an one even as Thomas à Kempis, or Bunyan; if the imitable "*Imitation of Christ*," or "*Pilgrim's Progress*," are as authoritative as any part of, or the whole Bible, then, either there is no Canon, or rule of faith or practice at all, or the Canon is not now completed, and never will be until the last pious man has ceased to talk or write.

The limited inspiration theory has a variety of representatives according as the restrictions affect the writers of the several Books of the Scripture, of whom only those from whom the Law and the Prophecies proceeded are regarded as supernaturally guided by the Spirit; or, as they affect the two great divisions themselves of the Bible, the New Testament being deemed inspired to an extent that the Old Testament was not inspired; or, as they affect the teachings contained in the entire Scripture, those only of a doctrinal character being held as

inspired; or, finally, as they affect the method of revelation, inspiration, though affirmed of the thought, yet being denied of the language in which it is expressed. This limitation theory is unsatisfactory, on the very face of it, on the ground that there positively cannot be any authoritative decision as to who shall make, in the Bible, the selection between the inspired and the uninspired. "Who," asks Guizot, in his *Meditations*, "shall mark the limit of the inspiration? Who shall say which texts, which passages, are inspired and which are not? So to divide the Holy Scriptures, is to strip them of their supernatural character, and to destroy their authenticity by surrendering them to all the incertitudes and all the disputes of men. A complete and uninterrupted inspiration alone is capable of commanding faith."

The climactic theory is based on the principle of degrees of inspiration. On the lowest step of the ladder lie the hagiographa; at the middle, the Prophets; on the top, the Law. According to that theory, the writers of the Books of Kings and Chronicles needed and received less of theopneustia than the Prophet Isaiah or the Evangelist John. From the famous Rabbi Maimonides down to the saintly Doddridge, this theory has been sustained by names ponderous because of learning, piety, or consecration. Possibly, in the opinion of some it does not oppose the plenary theory; nevertheless, it certainly is a departure from it. If authoritativeness depend wholly on inspiration, then the introduction into the recognition of the latter of the element of measurement is at least the exposure of the former to detraction, which, in respect to such a book as the Bible, is perilous.

The all-penetrating theory makes no distinction between inspiration and genius. They who advance it insist that Milton and Pitt, Bunyan and Keble, were inspired, not to a higher degree, certainly; not to a lower degree, certainly; not differently than, as well as, Moses and David, Jeremiah and Paul. Extraordinary poets, statesmen, artists, are divinely inspired within the spheres in which they are prominent. So, also, are

the producers of the histories, the prophecies, the doctrines, contained in the Bible. Such a theory lifts the Koran, or the Zendavesta, up to the Bible, or it lowers the Bible down to such magnificent works even as Gibbon's "Decline and Fall," or the Dialogues of Plato.

The translucent theory needs only be named in order to remind us of its Swedenborgian origin. "The Word of the Lord," says the Rev. W. C. Barlow, in the Symposium, "is not a written book, but the presence among men of the Spirit of Jehovah." In his essay he attempts to show that the translucent revelation rests upon an anterior obscure revelation; aims at intelligibility; is necessarily imperfect, and cannot be final. "To this class of revealed things belong the Pauline and other Epistles, and probably also the Acts of the Apostles, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and *perhaps* other books contained in the Bible. . . . Other revelation than this is contained in the Bible. . . . As the *Works* of God are to our highest scientific treatises, so is the *Word* of God (if this be discoverable), to the Apostolic Word or other translucent revelation. . . . We have, besides the Apostolic Word and its kindred books in the Old Testament, a series of books which constitute the veritable Word of God, namely, the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, the Psalms, the Prophets, the Gospels and the Revelation. To these add connective and confirmatory histories, as Ruth, Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah and Esther, with Job and the Song of Solomon, dramatic works which are in part at least imitative of the style of the Word. The Word itself stands out from all these, even from the inspired Apostolic Word." To those who succeed in catching the author's meaning, his ratiocination perhaps furnishes a curious example of the effort to combine with the climactic theory of inspiration the Swedenborgian doctrine of correspondences.

The subjective theory, in one form of it, holds that inspiration belongs to the sphere of the natural intelligence, and thus it is akin to the all-penetrating theory; in another form of it, it holds that inspiration belongs to the sphere of the spiritual,

and consists in the gracious influence of God acting upon the religious consciousness, thus being akin to the spiritual influence theory; in still a third form of it, in respect to which, indeed, it is distinctive, it holds that *that* is inspired which *finds* a man. But what in man does it find? Semler said, "Reason." Says Hurst, in his History of Rationalism, "He decided the proof of the inspiration of a book to be the inward conviction of our mind that what it conveys to us is truth. In this way he concluded some books of the Old Testament must be rejected, some accounted doubtful, some produced by gifted men, some to be filled with legends, some to be positively injurious, some to be the work of wild fanatics." Nearly a century elapsed, and the gifted Coleridge taught that what must be found in man, unto the detection in the Bible of that which is inspired, is the religious consciousness. In his "Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit," he says: "Whatever finds me bears witness for itself that it has proceeded from the Holy Spirit, even from the same Spirit which, remaining in itself, yet regenerateth all other powers, and, in all ages entering into holy souls, maketh them friends of God and prophets. . . . As much of reality, as much of objective truth, as the Scriptures communicate to the subjective experiences of the believer, so much of present life, of living and effective import do these experiences give to the letter of these Scriptures." In an article in the *Princeton Review*, of September, 1881, the subjective theory is ably discussed by Prof. Charles Elliott, of the Presbyterian Theological Seminary in Chicago. He shows: *That* the application, to inspiration, of the third-mentioned form of the subjective theory, is a *petitio principii*, since it requires that a reader of the Bible must be inspired to prove the inspiration of the Bible; *that* the proof derived from it is vague, since the religious consciousness is a variable quantity; *that* it leads to the conclusion that one portion of the Bible may be inspired to one man, and not inspired to another; and *that* it takes away all authority from the Bible as regards the unbelieving and the impenitent who have no religious consciousness at all, or that which is very feeble.

Finally, what kind of Bible, for the Bible that is precious to the plenary inspiration theorists, is offered by the practitioners of what Eichhorn called "the higher criticism" which, in the language of the Rev. T. W. Chambers, the editor of "Moses and his Recent Critics," "does not mean, as sometimes has been supposed, something superior in nature and methods to other criticism, but simply that, pre-supposing the precise text of any book and the exegesis of its language as already settled, it goes on to examine its integrity and authorship, the mutual relation of its parts, and its literary features as a whole." The dissertations which are the fruits of the application of this criticism, doubtless are valuable in the two-fold respect of instructiveness, and hence also, of attractiveness; but is there not some resemblance between these fruits and the fabled apples of Sodom, which are beautiful without, but within yielded ashes to the teeth and bitterness to the tongue? These higher critics, by means of their patient analyses and minute comparisons of one part of the Hebrew Scriptures with another, have brought out with greater clearness what was suspected as long as any part of the Scriptures existed, namely, that there are difficulties in them which vanish only before a knowledge that is full, and a power that can solve all mysteries. The higher critics too often perform the part of Alexander of Macedon when he, instead of disentangling the knot in the rope attached to the chariot at Gordium, cut it through with one blow of his sword. The conqueror, indeed, soon after verified the oracle's dictum by adding Egypt to his fast-growing empire; but, we ask, what triumphs are achieved as the results of the summary proceedings of the Higher Critics? Professor Israel E. Dwinell, in "Moses and his Recent Critics," divides the Higher Criticism into the primary and the secondary. Of the former he says, in an essay which cannot be commended too highly, that it is "destructive and its method unscientific"; of the latter, that it is "more plausible and dangerous" than the other, but "less consistent and logical." His points are: *that* it develops distrust of Scripture and a critical spirit; *that* it slights the principle of

authorship and destroys the realism of Scriptural history; *that* it gives no satisfactory account of the origin of the religion and history of Israel; *that* it discredits the revelation of God by a historical process, and rejects the natural order of the development of religion; *that* it dishonors the prophets and discredits Christ and the writers of the New Testament; *that* it makes Biblical theology unsatisfactory and worthless, impeaches the whole doctrine of inspiration, and gives a spent Bible. The expression "a spent Bible," the fruit of the Higher Criticism, is similar to that from the pen of Herder who, after observing that the critical labors of the rationalists are like the squeezing of a lemon, remarks: "The Bible that they would give is nothing but a juiceless rind."

Have the latest, have *any* of the investigations of Biblical criticism invalidated the theory of plenary inspiration? No, certainly not yet, nor will any future criticism invalidate it, so long as the results are not different from those that so far are offered, and are applied in the reconstruction of a Bible from which the foundation of a divine origin, as to *every* part of it, has been removed. We prefer to cling to the plenary inspiration theory until another has been devised which may account more logically, more clearly philosophically, more devoutly for an influence which *ὁ Βιβλος*, the Book, is exerting upon the world to reclaim it, upon the family to sanctify it, upon the individual to instruct, guide, comfort, and fit for heaven. There are two sayings of Dr. Leathes, in the Symposium, with which we are in full accord: "If we cannot trust the *ipsissima verba* of the divine writings when we most stand in need of learning the divine will, what is there that we *can* trust?" And again: "The argument that leads to *any* Bible leads to a *full* Bible." Nor, in thus declaring our unhesitating adherence to the theory of inspiration which we cannot think has yet been successfully assailed, can we be thought disqualified for the entertainment of an appreciative regard for the utterances of the late lamented Professor Van Oosterzee, in his "Christian Dogmatics." He claims that the two conceptions of *Holy Scripture* and Word of

God must be, on the one hand, duly distinguished; on the other, presented in their higher unity and their proper connection. The fifteenth proposition which he adduces in the discussion of the whole theme of inspiration is this: "As Holy Scripture, on the one hand, contains the Word of God,—i. e., the Divine Revelation—so may Scripture itself, on the other hand, in its totality, be termed the Word of God, as the consequence of the theopneustia of its writers." Possibly this postulate, in the bare statement of it, is objectionable to the supporter of the plenary theory. But its purport, as it lay in the author's mind, he himself has made plain. "The fruitless controversy," he says, "as to whether the Bible is God's Word, or whether it only *contains* it, is well known: Whereas formerly both propositions were identified and sometimes confused, in later times an accurate distinction has been demanded with increasing emphasis. . . . Only on both sides there is need for caution, lest the two sides of the same thing should be opposed to each other as in irreconcilable contrast. The statement 'the Bible *is* God's Word' brings into the foreground the higher unity of Holy Scripture; the counter statement, 'the Bible *contains* God's Word,' brings into the foreground its manifest diversity. It *contains* the Word of God, because it is the record of that which God has spoken to man, as well in *deed* as in *word*; it is, taken in its entirety, God's word, because it is notably the work of one Spirit which in different measure animated the inspired writers, and which is the higher bond even between the most different parts. But the formula, 'the Bible is God's Word,' must never be taken in such a way as to mean that every single word in the Bible is a word of God in the proper sense of the expression. Words of men, yea, of devils as well as of God, are to be read in the Bible, although certainly written under divine guidance. All in the Bible which is plainly seen to be a constituent part of divine revelation, is God's Word; and again, the Bible itself is God's Word, because, and in so far as, the Spirit of God here addresses us as nowhere else. Both statements are thus true when they are allowed to

stand side by side; but they cease to be the pure and just expression of the truth as soon as they are opposed to each other."

Do we retain and maintain the theory of plenary inspiration? Do we fail to perceive in any one of the substituted theories the evidence of a solidity which we should look for as the base upon which is to rest our confidence in an infallible, hence a reliable rule of faith and practice? Do we grieve to see the Bible so lightly tossed from one critic's hands into those of another? Do we lack sympathy with that so-called spirit of progress which claims to be abreast of the times by joining in the privately expressed (which is bad enough) and publicly announced (even in the course of clerical ministration from the pulpit, which is infinitely worse) strictures upon the genuineness, the authenticity, the veracity, of parts of the books, or of entire books of the Bible? Then we are among those whom Williams, one of the contributors to the notorious "Essays and Reviews," called "the well-meaning crowd for whom grave compassion is to be manifested," and whom Robertson Smith, in the first lecture on the Jewish Church in the Old Testament, more politely designates as "the timid people." "Timid people?" Ah, yes. Across the path of my soul's life there is a chasm of a fathomless depth. An all-pitying Being laid over it a bridge, employing in the construction of it, under his special superintendence, a chosen number of his servants. Scores, hundreds, thousands, have tried it, and by means of it have safely reached the yonder side. Just now you and I who also must find our way across the abyss, see persons approaching the bridge from all directions. They carry saws, planes, hammers. With these they are working away at the solid timbers. Terror-stricken, we exclaim, What are you doing? They answer, "We are experts at bridge-making. We will take away its props and give you better. We will remodel the structure and improve it. We will"—"Hold!" we reply to them, "Let it alone. We dare you to touch it!" Are we timid? It is the timidity that saves our lives. In an article in the *Princeton Review*, for October, 1857, says the anonymous

writer: "Happily the belief in the inspiration of the Scriptures is so connected with faith in Christ, that the latter in a measure necessitates the former. A man can hardly believe that Jesus is the Son of God, and worship Him as such, without regarding as the Word the volume which reveals His glory; which treats of His person and work, from its first page to its last sentence; which predicted His advent four thousand years before His manifestation in the flesh; which centuries before His birth described His glory as though it was an object of sight, and His life and death as though they had already occurred. . . . When a man becomes a true Christian, when he is made a partaker of the precious faith of God's elect, what is it that he believes? The Scriptural answer to that question is, He believes the record which God has given of His Son. And where is that record? In every part of the Bible directly or indirectly, from Genesis to Revelation. Faith therefore in Christ, involves faith in the Scriptures, as the Word of God, and faith in the Scriptures as the Word of God, is faith in their plenary inspiration." To this we say Amen, adding that it is a sad day when the idea is entertained that such respect for the Bible is sheer Bibliolatry, since that volume is not so sacred as to be exempt from criticism.

"How precious is the book divine,
By inspiration given;
Bright as a lamp its doctrines shine
To guide our souls to heaven."

IV.

THE OBJECTIVE MEANS OF GRACE, AND RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS.

BY REV. S. Z. BEAM, D.D.

THE religious activity of our time appears to surpass that of any previous period of the Christian era; not even excepting the Apostolic era. It is also true that an anti-religious activity characterizes the times, and that some of the most gigantic intellects of this pre-eminently intellectual period have arrayed themselves, not only against Christianity, but against Theism itself. With such men, strenuous efforts have been made to account for the existence and phenomena of the universe, without a designing mind, a creating hand, or a controlling providence. But, aside from this self-conscious and intentional effort to rid the human race of its God, and to extirpate a divine religion, there is an anti-religious element pervading all the spheres of human activity, of which most people seem to be wholly unconscious. The tendency is in the direction of secularism and materialism. And so strong is the tendency, that many of our Christian people are borne along with the current, and are therefore, without any such intention, arrayed on the side of an irreligious and anti-Christian secularism, which is largely responsible for the financial and commercial depression that has settled upon all the peoples of the world. And this tendency appears to be working itself out, more particularly, among the English-speaking peoples, perhaps, because they are more radically progressive in material advancement than others. This materialistic disposition of the American people was remarked by speakers at the Parliament of Religions held at

Chicago, who hailed from far-away India. That the charge is true, appears abundantly evident from the teachings of so-called Reformers. In their public utterances, few of them recognize God or Christianity. Socialism, Political Economy, Reconciliation of Capital and Labor, are discussed in all their relations, correspondencies and antagonisms, but, almost universally, from a political, secular or commercial stand-point, without any reference to, or regard for, religion. As if the moral, spiritual nature of man were entirely *nil*, as compared with his physical and intellectual enjoyment! Yet many of these "Reformers" are professedly Christians! But it is clear that no satisfactory solution of these great problems can ever be reached, until Christian people fully assert their Christian character, and Christian writers call to their aid the principles of Christianity, and allow them their legitimate position, as the controlling influence in adjusting the relations of men to men, in all spheres of life. As soon as this God-given religion is permitted to exert its ameliorating influence on the strugglers in these conflicts the strife will come to an end, and the Golden Rule of the blessed Master will be recognized as the true law of human life. And then the competition among men will take the form of an effort to excel each other in their conformity to its requirements. Then will dawn the longed-for golden age, when there will be peace on earth and good will among men.

But yet, notwithstanding the evils just pointed out, the proposition with which this paper is introduced, holds literally true.

The different Churches of Christendom are waking up, more and more, to a full appreciation of the responsibility imposed upon them by the great commission of the exalted and glorified Christ. Accordingly, wherever we look, we see, without much effort, the forces of Christianity bracing themselves in one form or another, and uniting against the power of darkness, against secularism, against wrongly applied world-powers, against spiritual wickedness in high places (Eph. 6: 12). The forces

of the Gentiles (Isa. 60) which have become evangelized, are fighting under the banner of the cross. The sacramental hosts of the Lord are consecrating themselves, and much of their wealth, to the spread of the Gospel in Christian lands, and are lifting up the banner of Christ, over the lands yet held in the toils of idolatry, and groping in the darkness of false religions. In our own land the waste places are receiving increased attention, and new congregations are springing up, and new churches built, as rapidly as men can be found to occupy the vacant fields. Our own Church, once likened to "a sleeping giant," has risen up from its supposed slumbers, and is manifesting increasing activity and energy in all directions. The older and larger colleges are advancing with enlarged endowments; the theological seminaries are becoming strongly manned; and college and seminary buildings are in course of erection, all of which bear testimony to the intellectual elevation and growing beneficence of our people. The Missionary and Sunday-school Boards have also taken advanced steps and active measures to push forward the work in their respective fields of operation.

But in addition to these evidences of progress, afforded through the regular channels of church work, new forces and energies are coming into action, which, hitherto, in the Reformed Church, have not been called out, at least in the same effective and aggressive way. Societies for the training of our hitherto unused energies at home, and for the propagation of our holy religion abroad, are springing up in every quarter, with a rapidity commensurate with the swiftly moving current of material progress, so that one hazards little in predicting the universal prevalence of special organizations among the Churches; for evangelical work and advancement, at the opening of the twentieth Christian century, about to dawn upon the world.

The progress of such organizations, however, even of missionary societies, has not been uniformly smooth or easy. It has not met that prompt and cordial reception, universally in our

Church, that it has apparently met in sister denominations. The Women's Missionary Societies have had to encounter and overcome a good deal of honest conscientious opposition. But this is gradually and surely giving way, and the societies are rapidly gaining ground.

The same holds true of "Mission Bands," "King's Daughters," "Young People's Societies of Christian Endeavor," and "Brotherhoods of Andrew and Philip," and all other similar organizations. They have been compelled to struggle into existence, against obstructions and antagonisms which would have been sufficient in any age of less earnest determination, if not entirely to interdict, at least to greatly impede and retard their advancing progress. But the impetuosity with which these movements are hastening forward bids defiance to all opposition.

Yet it is not strange, that the conservatism of a Church like ours, so fully committed to what is known as the Educational System of religion, and so tenacious of its high ideal of the sacramental energies of grace, is naturally slow in recognizing and adopting methods and practices, which seem foreign to her spirit, and simply human, in their invention. These time-honored, sacramental methods of Church work are so bound up in her very constitution, and with all that has been held sacred in her history, that the Reformed Church has found it difficult to admit the modern appliances of other systems in her practical work, which seemed in any way to militate against, or to treat with contempt, what she has ever regarded as God-appointed means of grace. God had honored and blessed her well-meant efforts to maintain her position, in the past, amid the strife engendered by the innovations of revivalism, which often assailed her. And the maintenance of her high churchly position involved severe struggles for more than a century in this country, accompanied with much bitterness and strife, and the loss of able ministers and congregations. But now, having settled for herself, at least, the all-important questions at issue, she is naturally jealous of any new movement, that might seem

in any way to threaten a revival of old bitterness and strife, or involve newly-invented methods of foisting upon her in another form, what she has already repudiated, as foreign to her churchly spirit or inimical to her churchly methods.

But it is evident that these new organizations within the Church have come to stay until their purpose is accomplished. They are daily gaining ground. The opposition is visibly weakening from year to year, as any one can see who reads the Church papers, or hears the annual discussions held at the sessions of our Classes and Synods. To the minds of some this is a sign of wonderful and encouraging progress, in which they discern the wonder-working power of God. To others, equally sincere and earnest in the work of the Master, notwithstanding this rapid outward prosperity, it looks like a "stooping to conquer," a menace to the solemn dignity and the reverent use of the objective means of grace, a breaking away from the divinely appointed ordinances, and, in some sense also, a repudiation of the Churchly and Christological stand-point of the creed, and a lowering of the spiritual life to the plane of a mere subjective experience. If this opinion should prove true, if those whose judgment is thus expressed are right, then it is a movement, that ought not only to be deprecated, but resisted with all the energy that our faith, and logic and personal influence can command. For anything that in any particular tends to lower our faith in, and reverence for, the objective and supernatural side of Christianity, must be regarded as inimical to Christ Himself, and therefore also to the true Christian life in us.

But if, on the contrary, these fears should prove to be unfounded, the persons troubled by them are not deserving of condemnation on the part of their "more progressive" brethren, as "old fogies," "cranks," and "ignoramuses." For it must be admitted that those who entertain such fears are among the greatest, most earnest, and most successful workers in the Church. Many of them are prognosticating the spiritual weather of the future by the experience of storms in the past, and are

naturally shy of the possible dangers through which the old ship of Zion may have to pass. There is no doubt of her ability to weather any storms that may beat upon her, as long as the Master is on board. And yet it is natural for conservative brethren to wish her to steer clear of them, and not to sail in waters peculiarly subject to such disturbances. Let no one then assume the responsibility of condemning those brave soldiers of the cross, because they are slow to fall in with "new things" pertaining to our ecclesiastical "machinery." They have good reasons for walking in the "old paths," or keeping the ship in quiet waters, and for exercising a prudent caution, when asked to endorse a movement looking towards new and hitherto untried measures for carrying forward the work of the Church.

Their fears may not be realized. God forbid that they should. We fondly hope that the new methods will be sanctified by the Holy Spirit to the end in view, and that the kingdom of Christ may be greatly advanced through their instrumentality. Much good has already been accomplished by their means. Men and women, young and old, have become consecrated, and are now engaged in the Master's work, who otherwise would probably be counted among the latent energies of the Church, with little or no prospect of ever doing any positive work for Christ or His people. Young men and women are now active in the Church, some in the home, and some in the foreign field of missions, who, but for these movements, might yet be wandering in the high-ways of sin. Many hearts are now glowing with the love of Christ, and, animated with the spirit of His great commission, are working amid the darkness of heathenism, for the glory of the Master, who might never have felt the joy of pardoned sin, or the peace of God reigning in their hearts, but for the influence brought to bear upon them by these religious societies. From these considerations we believe that the latent energies of the Church are evidently waking up and coming to the front, and that a new and burning zeal for souls is laying hold of the hearts of God's people, and that the numerous organizations, to which reference has been made, are the outcome of a move-

ment which is impelled by the Spirit of God. And our young people, under this impulse, are putting themselves in an attitude in which they are becoming more susceptible to the sanctifying energy of the Spirit of Christ, and so are being "driven" by Him into a consecrated activity, and are thus devoting themselves to the service of Christ. If this is true, it is certainly the work of God. And since God has so signally blessed this movement, and through it given an impetus to the spread of the gospel, such as has never perhaps been witnessed since the introduction of Christianity into the world, it seems eminently proper that we all ought to foster and encourage it.

Now, having said this much, the writer will not be charged with opposition, secret or open, to the organized movements above mentioned. But as all movements among men are more or less subject to dangers and liable to abuse, it is easy to see in this grand movement the possibility, and even the probability, of a falling away from the order of salvation, as this comes to us through the regularly constituted means of grace. God has, indeed, not laid down an iron rule for the conduct of His work among men. He, doubtless, allows room for the adoption of such methods as may be best adapted for the purpose at any given time. And as long as such man-made methods harmonize with His own appointments, He owns and blesses our efforts. But whenever those methods come in conflict with His appointed means of grace, or are substituted for them, or lead us to ignore and set them aside, or treat them as mere outward ceremonies, having a body without a soul, or a form without a life, and then use them, if at all, as only an empty badge of our profession, we have no moral right to expect His blessing on our efforts. And although outward success may be enjoyed, it is not necessarily a sign of God's approval. If mere success were a sign of divine approbation, or a criterion by which to judge of God's favor, some of the worst actions of men might claim to enjoy that distinction. But, on the contrary, a want of outward success is not always a sign of His disapproval. In fact God does not always require us to succeed. He only re-

quires faithful devotion to His service. The success or failure of our efforts we may cheerfully and trustingly leave in His hands. Only we must do the duties assigned us in His appointed way.

But, in any case, the movements under consideration are of an entirely subjective nature, and therefore present a one-sided view of the Christian life, viz., what we do for Christ. The works that we thus do, if done in true faith, are certainly valuable as a test of our faith, and therefore commendable. But they are not to be relied on as works of merit; for in that case they would have to "be absolutely perfect, and in all respects conformable to the divine law; but our best works in this life are all imperfect and defiled by sin" (Heid. Cat., Q. 62). And yet the evident tendency is to keep our gaze so constantly on these subjective good works, that we lose sight of the grace and "Spirit of God, who works faith in our hearts by the preaching of the Gospel, and confirms it by the use of the sacraments" (Heid. Cat., Q. 65). And so the objective agency of the Holy Ghost, and the objective means of grace, are robbed of their essential nature, and fall into contempt. Thus as "signs" they become insignificant, and as "seals" they become mere outward badges of discipleship, and no longer "declare and seal to us the promise of the Gospel, that God grants to us freely the remission of sins and life eternal for the sake of that one sacrifice of Christ, accomplished on the cross."

"The Holy Ghost teaches us in the Gospel, and assures us by the sacraments, that the whole of our salvation depends upon the sacrifice of Christ, which He offered for us, on the cross" (Heid. Cat., Q. 67). But if we lose sight of these all-important truths, and rely on the effects which they are intended to produce in our lives, for acceptance with God,—as the failings of human nature incline us to do,—we exalt the subjective effects of divine grace, and thereby repudiate the efficacy of the divine means through which this grace is communicated. And if this tendency is allowed to work out its logical results, the evident consequence must follow, viz.: that we save ourselves by our good works and our moral character, and Christ Himself be-

comes to us merely the model man, not the God-Man who saves us, but only the man who sets us a good example, whom it becomes a merit to follow. Then sacramental grace becomes a figment, and the Church a voluntary association of professing Christians for mutual edification and spiritual enjoyment, with which any Christian may dispense without much loss. From this standpoint it is not uncommon to hear remarks like the following: "Baptism is not a saving ordinance;" "The Holy Supper is not a grace-bearing ordinance;" "One can be saved out of the Church, if he lives right;" or "It matters little what he believes, if he does right," as if it were possible to live the Christian life without believing the Christian creed!

Likewise, by a logical consistency, "churchliness" is characterized by the flippant expression, "churchianity." And with a similar levity a play upon the word "Christo-centric," as applied to the creed, has characterized faith in the Church as "the body of Christ," as "churchi-centric." Again, from this low standpoint, it is easy to regard "conversion," as a possibility, and even a necessity, quite independently of the Church, or, indeed, of any means of grace whatever, except those invented and used under the revival system. "Get religion," is the cry, without regard to creed or ordinance, by bombarding the throne of grace immediately, discarding the intervention of priest and ritual as relics of Romanism and superstition. In consistency with this unchurchly spirit, a celebrated itinerant evangelist is reported to have said: "If I thought baptism a saving ordinance I would take a bucket of water, and pass down through the aisles of this church, and sprinkle all the people as I went;" from which it is easy to see that his idea of holy baptism is no better than a caricature, and it must have been formed without any adequate apprehension of the divine mystery of sacramental grace, or of the deep solemnity of this Christ-appointed ordinance. If such a man can get people converted in his own way, he can, apparently, without conscientious scruples, ridicule the means of God's appointment, and set them aside as empty, meaningless ceremonies.

The *ex opere operato* theory is, of course, to be repudiated. We do not pretend to advocate the doctrine that the outward baptism of water is, *per se*, a regenerative act. On the contrary, the mere external washing of water is not the blotting out of sin; "for," as the Catechism beautifully says, "the blood of Jesus Christ only, and the Holy Ghost, cleanse us from all sin" (Q. 72). But this outward symbolical washing is the "divine pledge and sign" by which "He assures us" that our sins are washed away by "the blood and Spirit of Christ." And hence, according to the divinely-inspired command, every one of us is to be "baptized in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins" (Acts 2: 38). (Of course, genuine repentance must be in order in all cases, without conditions.) And, in full harmony with this sacramental view, we are assured by another inspired writer, that "as many as have been baptized into Christ, have put on Christ" (Gal. 3: 27). Along with the use of this objective means of grace there must be also an exercise of faith,—by the individual himself, if the subject is an adult; by the parents, if it is an infant,* and also an humble and complete surrender to Christ, as our only Lord and Saviour. And in addition, there must be a sincere confession of sin, and of our entire dependence on Christ, for the removal of our guilt, and for our reconciliation to God in Him. In this way, through the means of baptism, accompanied with the divine Word, which becomes effectual through the operation of the Holy Ghost, the life-germ of a new creation is implanted within us, and becomes potentially the starting-point in that divine process which culminates in the new birth, wherein "Christ is born in us the hope of glory." And thus, "born of water and of the Spirit," we are elevated into the sphere of grace where we are able to grow, and be nurtured in the divine life. The food that nourishes this new-born creature is the glorified life of Christ. This is communicated to us by the Word, and symbolically and mystically confirmed and sealed to us by the sacrament of His body and blood. The sixth chapter of St. John's Gospel sets this in

* When the child comes of proper age it must take its baptismal vows upon itself, and thus ratify the act of the parents or sponsors.

a clear light: "Except you eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink His blood, ye have no life in you. Whoso eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life," etc. (vers. 53, 54, *et seq.*). Some writers, we know, catch at the straw found in verse 63, by which they hope to deliver themselves from drowning in the sea of ritualistic sacramentarianism of the preceding verses. Or, to be plain, it is an effort to make Jesus overturn and demolish, by this one verse, the glorious fabric which He had so carefully built up in the preceding verses. His doctrine was offensive to his immediate hearers then, and it appears to be offensive to many of his followers now. But Jesus does not contradict Himself. "It is the Spirit that giveth life, the flesh profiteth nothing; the words that I speak unto you, they are spirit and they are life" (ver. 63). This evidently means that the Spirit in the Word gives life; and the Word and sacrament together are the objective means through which that life is communicated to the believer. And in the sacramental transaction, while bread and wine are received into the mouth in the natural way, the life-giving power of Christ's flesh and blood is received by faith in a supernatural way, and is appropriated and assimilated by the spiritual new man, and it thus becomes the pabulum of a never-ending life—the life of the glorified Christ—in the believer.

That we have apprehended the true meaning of our Saviour's mysterious language, appears very evident as soon as we compare it with the words of institution of the Holy Supper: "Take, eat, this is my body, broken for you, etc." If He had not instituted the Supper, or used the words here quoted, His language in the 6th of John would have remained unintelligible. Even His immediate disciples failed to catch His mysterious meaning till after the institution. But they have recorded His words, and also inform us of their observance of His command, as a guide and example for His future followers.

These ordinances are, therefore, not empty ceremonies, which men may use or ignore at their pleasure, and yet enjoy all the blessings they were intended to convey, "for they are actual channels, through which God's grace is conveyed to His people."

And since this is His appointed way, it is hard to see how, or why, Christians can hope to receive this grace in any other way. And it is equally hard to see how He can approve any other methods, that men may presume to substitute for them, especially when they pretend to see more virtue in their own inventions than in His ordinances.

It is easy to see, therefore, that the tendency of this peculiarly subjective age to disparage these objective means of grace, is a peculiarly dangerous tendency. And if our Church is to maintain her educational and churchly stand-point, she must counteract this tendency. The pastors of the churches must guard, not against the young people's societies, or against the development of an enthusiastic energy and a wakeful activity in pushing forward their work—but against the possibility of their being carried away by their enthusiasm, into the fatal snare of the meritoriousness of their own good works. Let them always be kept in remembrance that they are what they are by divine grace; and not by what they do for Christ. "By grace ye are saved through faith, and that not of yourselves; it is the gift of God: Not of works, lest any man should boast. For we are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works, which God hath before ordained that we should walk in them" (Eph. 2: 8-10). And let no man "think of himself more highly than he ought to think." (Rom. 12: 8).

Such warnings as these are intended to keep us humble, and to assist us in resisting the temptation to spiritual pride and self-exaltation, which almost invariably mar the Christian character of those who despise the objective means of grace, and boast of their personal experience and of their good deeds.

We might here also refer to the manner in which the preaching of the Gospel, sometimes, comes in for a share of the contempt which the Church and the sacraments have suffered. Singing and prayer, which are, or ought to be, addressed to God, as acts of worship, are sometimes substituted for preaching, which is an appeal to men; and in this way, by a special

and lively effort, attempts are made to sing and pray men into the kingdom, by simply an appeal to their emotional nature. And, accordingly, we are often confronted, in religious and semi-religious papers, with the discouraging thought, that the "pulpit is declining," that it is "losing its hold on the people," that other means are more effectual in bringing sinners to Christ, etc. And this may be true in some quarters; but it is not true where ministers and churches honor the ordinances of God. Preaching, along with the sacraments, is the only divinely-appointed means of saving men, and, in the past, they have been regarded as the true marks of the true Church, over against unchurchly sectarianism, which cuts itself off by exalting some peculiar dogma, true or false, or else by adopting some practice or method foreign to the Church.

This view of the Church and her sacramental energies here advocated, is often characterized as formalism; and it must be confessed that there is danger here, too, which must also be avoided. And we may say here that the formalist is satisfied with mere forms without the inward life; and in this he is the extremely opposite of the fanatic, who gets on satisfactorily to himself without the use of these forms at all.

But Christ has instituted these forms, and whether He is chargeable with formalism or not, He has commanded us to use them. It will not do to say that ritualism and ceremonialism have been done away, because the ceremonial law of Judaism has been abrogated. Only its temporary forms have been done away. Its eternal principles remain, and are embodied symbolically in the sacraments and in the Word; and while the vail of the temple is rent in twain, and God may now be approached immediately by the repenting sinner, yet if he sets aside or ignores the means of grace, he can have no assurance of acceptance at the throne of grace.

Any one who can lightly ignore the objective means of grace, must do it in the face of Christ's own appointment, and of His own personal example; and thus he argues a one-sided subjective view of religion, which finds no countenance in the Bible;

and thus he puts more confidence in his own good feelings and good deeds, than in the grace of God, which bringeth salvation.

That Jesus honored the appointments of God in the Old Testament, is evident to every one who carefully studies His history. The Gospels do not, of course, profess to record all that Jesus said and did, as St. John informs us (John 20 : 30 and 21 : 35). But they do record enough to show that He faithfully observed the outward ordinances of religion then in force, by a perfect obedience to the ceremonial law, in order, as He expressed it, "to fulfill all righteousness" (Matt. 3 : 18). Thus He was circumcised the eighth day, and presented in the temple on the fortieth day (Luke 2 : 21, 22, *et seq.*), by His parents, of course ; and afterwards, when twelve years old, He was made a "son of the law," and became thereby a full member of the Church, subjecting Himself to all the requirements of the law. Again, when He was ready to enter upon the duties of His office, He submitted to John's Baptism, which was followed by the descent of the Holy Ghost, and the word from heaven, declaring Him to be the well-beloved Son of God (Matt. 3 : 16-17). During His three years' ministry He attended three Passovers (John 2 : 13 ; 5 : 1, and the last, recorded by all the Synoptists). He also attended the Feast of Tabernacles (John 7 : 2, 10), and the Feast of Dedication (John 10 : 22), and, doubtless, if we had a complete record, it would show that He was present, as a loyal Jew, at every feast prescribed by the law. But besides this, He honored the law, when He miraculously healed diseases, for which the law prescribed offerings, as in the case of the lepers (Matt. 8 : 2-4, and Luke 17 : 11-16), whom, in both instances, He directed to show themselves to the priests ; and in one of the cases it is added, "and offer the gift that Moses commanded."

With all these facts before us, and also the knowledge that He insisted on strict obedience to the moral law, as well as on a right, inward, spiritual conformity to the demands of purity, holiness and love, who will dare to affirm, that He ever treated the outward means of grace with anything else but the highest

reverence and respect? And while He rebuked the unworthy men who filled the priesthood, He held the office in honor, as an institution of divine appointment. Can any one think to please Jesus, by speaking lightly of the ministry, or of the Church, or of the word and sacraments, which Christ appointed to take the place, in the new dispensation, of those ordinances which He so highly honored in the old? Are these means of grace to be set aside as antiquated, because the spirit of the age requires, and perhaps needs the application of new methods of working for Christ and the evangelization of the world? We think not. All these organizations, with their new methods of work, may be welcomed as auxiliary to the regular means of spreading the gospel; and we may, therefore, accept their aid, and use it in a legitimate way to help forward the glorious work. But let us be careful lest our zeal run away with our discretion, and lead us to relegate to the background the appointments of God, and substitute in their place the inventions of men.

V.

CHRISTIANITY AT THE END OF THIS AGE.

BY REV. J. G. NOSS.

THE thinking people of our time are, as a rule, divided into optimists and pessimists. To one class the future of the Church and the world is all brightness, to the other all gloom. The unbiased Christian student of history and Holy Scripture knows that while neither is wholly right as over against the other, both the seer of coming light and the seer of coming night have good ground for their prophecies. For while sin is present in the world and in the Church, there can be but one answer by the watchman to the challenge, "What of the night?" "*The morning cometh and also the night.*" In history, both profane and sacred, as in nature, light and darkness alternate. Joy and gladness give place to woes alike in "sad Ilion and sacred Salem." The same is true in the history of Christianity.

But what of the future? The unscriptural theory dominant in the Church for centuries, that Christianity, *in this age*, is to achieve a complete triumph over Satan and his legions is accountable for much of the modern perplexity. The complacent optimist, feeling confident that the final triumph of Christianity, if not in sight, cannot be far off, accepts, often under the protest of his better judgment, the modern schemes for bringing about the desired end. His zeal for the bringing in of the expected millennium forbids his rejection of any means or measures which its projectors may claim to be especially ordained of God to evangelize the world. The gloomy pessimist, accepting the traditional theory as the genuine teaching of Christ and His Apostles, seeing the present condition of things

in the Church and the world, and judging the future by the past, is all too ready to despair of any outcome but that of utter ruin, and to look upon Christianity as a failure, even if he does not go into the growing camp of the enemy.

But is this theory unscriptural? Is the Christianity of this age to share the experience of its type, the Judaism of the Old Testament,—illustrious in faith in the beginning, thriving under persecution, conquering its enemies, reigning gloriously in the midst of the earth, pride and perfidy bringing it into Babylonish captivity, a re-invigorated faith reforming its teaching and morals, and the coming in of the world-spirit causing it at last to reject the true Messiah and to be deceived by the false? If even there were no corroborating teaching in Holy Scripture, the question of the Saviour in Luke 18: 8 (“When the Son of Man cometh, shall He find faith in the earth?”) should be conclusive to show that instead of the world, in this age, being conquered by Christian faith, that faith itself should almost disappear from the earth before Christ comes. When He asked this question He either knew or He did not know the condition of Christianity at the end of this age. If He did not know, the popular theory, or any other, is baseless so far as the teaching of Christ is concerned. If He did know, as He certainly did, the question is simply inconceivable on the basis of such knowledge of universal faith in Him at His coming as that theory assumes. In the closing verses of the preceding chapter He declares the lightning-like suddenness of His second advent and the unpreparedness of the world at His unexpected coming, as in the days of Noah and Lot. And by the parable of the Unjust Judge in the verses immediately preceding, He urges the necessity of patience and perseverance in the faith (and that under trying circumstances) unto the end. The interrogative particle (*ara*) is not translated. Yet on this word depends the nature of the answer to the question. In Greek usage this particle almost invariably demands an emphatic negative answer to the question in which it appears. Besides its use in this passage, it occurs twice in the New Testament.

Paul uses it in Gal. 2: 17 ("Is Christ the minister of sin?") and Luke in Acts 8: 30 ("Understandest thou what thou readest.") While it is not to be presumed that the use of *ara* in the question before us demands an absolute negative as in Gal. 2: 17, yet as over against the prevalent theory it shows beyond doubt that when the Lord comes at the end of this age He shall find comparatively few of His followers firm and steadfast in the faith. *Pistis* has the article, *the* faith, not faith in God in a general sense, but the faith (including faithfulness) which is the condition, over against all human merit and works, of participation in the special inheritance in Christ which is made known in this age by the Gospel.

But the teaching of Christ in this passage is also abundantly corroborated by Him and the Apostles in Holy Scripture elsewhere. Let a few selections suffice: "And because iniquity shall abound, the love of many shall wax cold. But he that shall endure unto the end the same shall be saved." (Matth. 24: 12, 13). This is spoken, not of the unbelieving world, but of Christians. Among these *anomia* (lawlessness) shall abound in the last days. It is *agape* that shall wax cold—a word not used in Greek literature, but always in the New Testament to express the newly revealed love of God to man, and in man as he is made one in Christ with the Father. And it is the love of *ton pollon*, the many, that is, the majority of believers, that shall thus wax cold. "Now the Spirit speaketh expressly that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of devils." (1 Tim. 4: 1). "This know also that in the last days perilous times shall come. For men shall be lovers of their own selves, covetous, boasters, proud, blasphemers, disobedient to parents, unthankful, unholy, without natural affection, truce-breakers, false accusers, incontinent, fierce, despisers of those that are good, traitors, heady, high-minded, lovers of pleasure more than lovers of God; having a form of godliness (*eusebeia*), but denying the power thereof." (2 Tim. 3: 1-5). All this emphasizes the fact that what Paul calls the *apostasia*, or falling away, is not external defection so

much as internal. Under the semblance of devotion to Christ, saying, "Lord, Lord," the majority of professing Christians in the last days shall be far removed from Him in heart; thus realizing the condition of typical Judaism at the first advent of the Messiah. The majority of the Apostolic Fathers and the recently discovered *Didache* testify to the same condition of the Church at the end of this age.

Accepting all this as true, must we come to the conclusion that Christianity is a failure? God forbid. We might as well conclude that Christ is a failure. Judaism was no failure, though Jerusalem became desolate and her children were "scattered upon all the face of the earth," for the covenant-keeping Jehovah was identified with it. So Christ and Christianity are one; they stand or fall together. But how different from the popular conception was the outcome of Judaism in the past age! How the Lord "put down the mighty from their seats, and exalted them of low degree" to be glorious pillars in the Church of the new age! And the prevalent unscriptural theory makes the same mistake with reference to this dispensation which the Jews made with reference to the person of the Messiah in the days of His humiliation. The Messiah is represented in the prophecies of the Old Testament as the Son of David reigning with power and glory over the nations of the earth, and also as the stricken Man of sorrows. The dominant religious leaders of the people saw not in the lowly Galilean their partial and political conception of the King of the Jews, and therefore rejected Him and found in the aggressive Barabbas a nearer approach to their ideal. The coming in of the world-spirit blinded their understanding so that they saw not the whole Messiah as delineated in Holy Scripture, though Jesus of Nazareth was fulfilling that Scripture jot by jot and tittle by tittle daily before their eyes. Likewise it should not be thought impossible, or strange even, that the people of the New Testament covenant should ultimately be ready, when the humanitarian conceptions and anti-Christian forces in the Church shall have come to full fruition, to see in the greatness and


power of the visible Antichrist, a nearer realization of their ideal of the kingdom of Heaven on earth than that which a weak and dying faith in the invisible and tarrying Christ presents. For the false conceptions of the true Christ and of His kingdom must inevitably prepare those who hold them to embrace the impersonation of the Antichristian spirit within them when once manifested. No, Christianity is not a failure; but our conception of what it is and what it is to accomplish in this age may be a complete failure.

But it may be objected to the views here presented, that the Word of God surely promises a reign of universal righteousness in which all men shall be drawn to Christ. True; but not in this age. This is the age of faith in the unseen Christ, not that of His *parousia*. It is the age of the election, not of the human race (for that should be no election); but that of the Church out of the human race. The very word, *ekklesia*, shows the purpose of Christ in this dispensation: "I have chosen you out of the world." As Christ was not of the world, so His chosen Church is not of the world. This is the Pentecostal age in which the first fruits of the spiritual harvest are gathered unto God. The full in-gathering of the Feast of Tabernacles, when the Spirit of God shall be poured out literally upon all flesh, belongs to the age to come. The past age was the age of Judaism, this age "is the time of the Gentiles;" the coming age is the age of the Jews and the Gentiles—that of the whole race. In this age Satan is not bound (though the nominal Church significantly makes less and less account of his presence and power), but "as a roaring lion walketh about seeking whom he may devour," "is transformed into an angel of light," and "his ministers are transformed as ministers of righteousness." In the age to come he is to be bound and his hand is to be stayed from sowing tares in the field of God's own planting, and "all the nations of the earth shall go up to Jerusalem from year to year to worship the King, the Lord of Hosts, and to keep the Feast of Tabernacles."

But what, it may be asked, is the Gospel of Christ to accom-

plish in this age if it shall fail to bring all the world to have faith in Him? Just that which any Gospel of God has ever been intended to accomplish in this world: the salvation of men from impending destruction. For we must not forget that we can only speak of salvation over against condemnation. There can be no "brand plucked out of the fire," if there be no fire. The promise comes after the fall and because of it, and salvation comes after the sentence of condemnation and because of it. The wrath of God upon sin abides; the salvation of the sinner is the parenthesis of God's mercy in the sentence of condemnation. If there be no consummation of the sentence of condemnation, the Gospel of Christ has neither meaning nor necessity for the world. On this account the announcement of judgment always accompanies, or rather forms a part of, the message of salvation to man. Noah's preaching must have been of this twofold character. The sum and substance of the preaching of John, the Baptist, and of Jesus to the Jews, was: "Repent, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand." This very language conveys the announcement of the impending wrath of God upon them, as well as the glad tidings of salvation to them. *Because* "the axe is laid unto the root of the tree," they were warned "to flee from the wrath to come" by repenting of their sins and by believing in Jesus as the Christ of God. So, also, is the Gospel of Christ to be preached in this age in all the world, both as "a witness to all nations," and as the means of salvation to them that believe. Paul, on the Areopagus, tells the Athenians, in his interrupted sermon, that all men everywhere are called upon to repent, *because* a day has been appointed in which the world is to be judged in righteousness by the risen Jesus.


All men are sinners, and all sinners to whom the Gospel is presented stand related to Jesus Christ as believers and saved, or unbelievers and condemned. All believers, again, stand related to Him as faithful or faithless in the faith. To both unbelievers and faithless believers, Christ is a righteous Judge, and is to be proclaimed as such by every minister of the Gospel.



The Gospel of love alone is indeed the greatest thing in the world to those who love; but it is not the whole message of Christ to the world. The weeping, loving Magdalene tremblingly adores the Lord of Love because she has found in Him release from the bitter bondage of sin and Satan. The incontinent Felix is made to tremble by Paul's preaching to him the same Christ as the coming Judge. The Whole Christ is to be preached and to be believed in, and only so can we know, according to Paul's seeming paradox, the love of God which passeth all understanding. The preaching of only half the Christ must be preaching without strength. It is certain that both unbelievers and faithless believers are comfortable under it. And even where the Gospel is preached to men for the first time, as in our Foreign Mission fields, it seems but weak in effect compared with what our conceptions are of what it is in itself and what we know its power was upon men in the beginning. Could this be so if the whole Christ were preached? Christ, as Paul preached Him, for instance, aside from all miraculous manifestations, was made to confront all men critically. All men are made to feel that they must accept or reject, not His moral teachings, but Him. He is presented to them as the only Prophet, Priest and King through whom men may gain any true knowledge of God, be freed from sin, made God-like in character, be eternally blessed, and by whom all men are ultimately to be judged according to the deeds done in the body. All men must stand or fall by Him, and it is all-important that the offered Saviour be accepted *at once*, for He will surely come soon to bring eternal weal or woe to each one as he has accepted or rejected Him. This kind of preaching once "turned the world upside down," and perhaps if every watchman on the walls of Zion should so proclaim Him to-day, both the Church and the world should be disturbed not a little. Is it not startling, however, that the preaching which is supposed to be successful in bringing the world to Christ is that which is popular alike with the believer and the unbeliever? While the Master was preparing His first disciples to preach

this Gospel He warned them against that which is so much sought after now, and which is so often taken as evidence of success: "Woe unto you when all men shall speak well of you; for so did their fathers to the false prophets." Satan has not fallen in love with the Gospel in these last days any more than at the first, but he has evidently become complacent under the accommodating manner of its presentation.

But the descent is easy from preaching only half the Christ to eliminating Him from the sermon altogether; not His name, indeed, nor yet his moral teachings, but *Him*. True faith holds that Christ is the Head, and that the Church is His Body; that He is Wisdom, not simply the Teacher of wisdom; that He is the Life, not simply the Teacher of the way of life; and that He is the Door to Heaven, and not simply the Way-pointer. All this is ignored in the growing tendency to *teach Christianity without preaching Christ*. That is, Christianity, to be successful, must be adapted to the times. The norm for Christian activity is not "the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus," which alone can make men "free from the law of sin and death," and which they need, but rather the modification and adaptation of that norm to what the Church and the world will accept. Under this accommodation Christianity is growingly viewed by the world, and by many professing Christians, as a religion instituted by Jesus of Nazareth and consisting of certain ceremonies and injunctions for daily living, the faithful observance of which opens the gates of Heaven to its adherents. It is thought to compare favorably with others in a Parliament of Religions, and to show its superiority to all others, if not in antiquity, at least in its teachings of purer morals, in its educational and charitable institutions, and especially in the greater civilization and enlightenment of the nations brought under its influence. Under this accommodation, too, there is a prevalent and growing feeling that the preaching of the Word, however faithfully done, and the heaven-ordained Sacraments have largely lost their power for good, and that the success of Christianity must depend on other



activities of the Church. Hence we hear much of the power of organizations, enthusiasm, numbers, etc., and yet according to true faith there is but one power that can effect the salvation of men: "I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ; for *it is the power of God* unto salvation to every one that believeth."

If we were to stop long enough to think what "the *power of God*" is, we should think very little, and say much less, of the power of men, women and children. But who that thinks at all seriously does not see that the tendency is more and more to have confidence, not in what Christ is to us and what He has done for us, but rather in what we do for Him and for the world? And is it not the very essence of apostasy to substitute merely human power, zeal and activity for the power and work of God? When God does not manifest His power in and through man upon the moral world, Satan is sure to do so.

"When they knew God they glorified Him not as God, . . . but changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beasts and creeping things, . . . and changed the truth of God into a lie, and worshiped and served the creature more than the Creator."

Are we fully awake to the fact that a degeneracy of faith in God is going on before our eyes as great as that which Paul so graphically describes in these words as being the case of the Gentile descendants of Noah? Of course not along the line of the gross forms of the idolatry of the ancient world. Satan is too subtle for that. He compasses the undoing of the covenanted people in these days by begetting pride in them in those things which they have, or think they have, in abundance; whether these things be material or spiritual, or both. The Church in Smyrna is poor, but rich; the Church in Laodicea is "rich and increased with goods and has need of nothing," but "is wretched and miserable and poor and blind and naked." The "poor in spirit" are now the blessed, and God has chosen the "poor of this world rich in faith." Satan does not repeat the mistake he made with Job and the Christians of the early

centuries. He knows that "when Jeshurun waxed fat he kicked."

Many illustrations of this downward process in the faith suggest themselves. Let a few suffice. Not to mention the spiritual adulteries of God's people in other days, and in other countries, think of the hot race for social and political power and influence in this country between the larger denominations, with the smaller ones training in their tactics and imitating their pace. Think, too, of the great number of ministers of the Gospel and members of the Church of Christ affiliated with the secret societies of the land. Why this hot race, and why this recourse to the societies of this world? Though both the denominations and the individuals, in this case, spurn the imputation that they are doing evil that good may come, from the stand-point of faith there simply can be no other and at the same time true answer. True faith looks to Christ for all power to be, to know, and to do good. To turn aside from Christ in order to realize any of these is, for the Christian, to do evil. And surely no denomination, or individual, is willing to confess to be doing evil for its own sake. But if they do not resort to Cæsar and to human associations to "seek the Kingdom of Heaven," it must be the "other things" they are after. Of like character, too, is the temperance movement of our time. Turning away from the true conception of temperance as *self-continnence* or *inward strength* (*egkrateia*), which is the fruit of the Spirit of God in the Christian, these would-be reformers of the Church and the world have descended from one stage to another until they have fairly landed in the flesh in the Prohibition movement of the day. Having turned away from Christ, they look to Cæsar for help. Christ's life and Spirit in man have made millions temperate; Cæsar never has made and never can make a single human being truly temperate.

This is the time for watching and warning. "O son of man, I have set thee a watchman unto the house of Israel; therefore thou shalt hear the Word at My mouth, and warn them from Me." The Saviour and the apostles never speak of the end of

this age without emphasizing the necessity for watching. The powers that come into play at this time are so subtle, so refined, and the deceivableness of sin so great, that, if it were possible, the very elect should be deceived. "Blessed are those servants whom the Lord, when He cometh, shall find watching." "Watch ye, therefore, that ye may be counted worthy to escape all these things that shall come to pass, and to stand before the Son of Man." This watching implies the necessity of trying the spirits, whether they be of God, and of discerning the signs of the times. The Saviour and the Apostles should not have so emphasized the dangers, and given the attending signs of these last days, if there were no impending peril to Christian faithfulness. "For as a snare shall it come on all them that dwell on the face of the whole earth."

The most prominent mark given us is the coming of Antichrist. Without any claim whatever to superior knowledge, it may be well to direct attention to a few things which are recognized by many as facts, however they may differ as to their bearing upon the subject in hand. Antichrist can be no sudden, shock-producing manifestation in the world. He must be the embodiment of the life and spirit of his age, and that in its highest or spiritual form; for he "as God sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God." The chief factor in such a product must be the development of a preceding spiritual monarchy. There should be no difficulty in recognizing this in the development and history of the Roman Papacy. But there can be no development of a spiritual monarchy without a corresponding tendency all the while to spiritual anarchy. And there should be no difficulty in recognizing this tendency in the development and history of Protestantism. Both these tendencies had their root already in the apostolic Church. If the Bishop of Rome had always truly represented Christ to the Church and the world, and should do so now, no harm could come from the Papacy. But this has by no means been done. So also, if the private judgment of Protestantism were always the judgment of Christ, no harm could come from

it. But it is equally true that Protestantism has not always faithfully represented the Christ of God. The authority in both cases is originally from God (for Christ by His Spirit and Word feeds and governs His flock both directly and through vicegerents); but the exercise of that authority has by no means always been with right motives and for right ends. History unmistakably shows that the world-spirit has been a strong element in the development of both tendencies, so that to-day Christ and Cæsar are sadly interchanged as objects of homage by both Protestant and Roman Catholic. This false development of the Papacy may be taken to be the positive element preparing the way for the antichristian monarchy, and the false development of personal liberty and private judgment, with its anarchical manifestations both in the Church and the world, may be said to constitute its negative element. Modern progress in science and art furnishes the external condition required by bringing the ends of the world together.

The end cannot be far off. The intense, gigantic forces at work in the world of our day must bring about the great crisis. The spirit of the world, in this day of world-expositions and world-congresses, reaches out over the globe and brings the whole race under its influence at one and the same time as was never possible before. And nominal Christianity, alas, is more and more yielding to this same spirit, and, consciously or unconsciously, is even paying court to the moral, social and political forces of the world, as if these were the handmaids of Christ. Moreover, we are not to forget that "judgment must begin at the house of God." When the Lord spews out of His mouth the lukewarm Church of Laodicea, that other saying of His shall also be fulfilled: "Ye are the salt of the earth; but if the salt have lost its savor, wherewith shall it be salted? It is thenceforth good for nothing but to be cast out and trodden under foot of men." These many centuries has Christianity postponed the final judgment of God upon the world; but when it shall have ceased to be faithful to Christ, and become the Babylonish harlot, He shall change the broken reed of the

world-power on which it leans into the iron rod of its chastisement. But it is ever the way of God to come to the help of His own when they most need it. Christ shall come when all seems lost, and take to Himself the faithful (translated) living and (risen) dead Christians, until the woes be past; for it is written: "Come, My people, enter into thy chambers, and shut thy doors about thee; hide thyself, as it were, for a little moment, until the indignation be overpast. For, behold, the Lord cometh out of His place to punish the inhabitants of the earth for their iniquity." "And then shall all the tribes of the earth mourn, and they shall see the Son of Man coming in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory." But it is not the world alone that asks in our day: "Where is the promise of His coming?" Gnosticism in the Church is by no means entirely a heresy of the past. How frequently are we told that "Christ has often come since He ascended into Heaven;" that "He comes to each one in death," etc. And yet all Christendom for many centuries has confessed, as one of the cardinal articles of its faith, "From *thence* He shall come to judge the quick and the dead." We might as well say that He has often been conceived by the Holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin Mary; often been crucified, and often risen from the dead, and often ascended into Heaven, as to say He has often come in the sense of this article of the Apostles' Creed. It means the second Advent of our Lord, and never anything else. And this coming of Christ is the blessed hope of the Church from His ascension until its realization at the end of this age. The coming of the Holy Ghost, as "the earnest of our inheritance until the redemption of the purchased possession," and His mediatorial work in receiving the things of Christ and showing them unto us, place us into such living relation to Christ as that we can look forward to His Advent with such glad hope as does the faithful, loving bride to the coming of the bridegroom.

He follows the Church Year with little profit who sees in the Advent season only "a preparation for Christmas." The Scripture lessons, the collects and hymns of the whole Advent season

look altogether in a different direction. Advent Sunday is the end and the beginning of the Church Year—the end, however, because it is the day of the consummation of this dispensation whose history is set forth, in brief, in that year; and the beginning, because it is meant to mark the epoch of the more glorious age to follow. And just because He does not come whom the Church longs to hail with the glad cry: “Hosanna to the Son of David! Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord,” the Church Year reluctantly, it seems (for the first three Sundays in Advent still look to His second coming), leads us back to commemorate again the great facts in the history of our redemption. The only hope of and for Christianity, and the only hope for the world, is the coming again of our Lord. But, alas, the major portion of the Christianity of our day challenges us to believe in many things as being able to accomplish that which He alone can bring to pass by His coming. Faith, simple, child-like faith in the whole Christ of God is the great lack and need of our day.

VI.

THE MORAL DIFFICULTIES OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

BY REV. A. J. HELLER, A. M.

THE morality of the Old Testament has often been made the subject of adverse criticism by those who do not believe in the inspiration of the holy Scriptures. They claim that it is not consistent with the transcendently righteous and holy character of God to use, for the accomplishment of His gracious designs and purposes, men so lacking in the principles of truth and justice, so impure, and so wanting in the grace of charity, as the Old Testament saints. These skeptically-inclined persons even take pleasure in searching out the mistakes, foibles and follies of the Hebrew fathers and leaders, and the moral defects and blemishes of the Hebrew governmental and social system for the purpose of heaping ridicule upon the whole plan of redemption as historically unfolded from the promise given in Eden to the fulfillment of that promise in the advent of Christ.

There are others who become perplexed and distressed, if not completely unsettled in their opinion concerning the truth of the whole of God's Word, when they are confronted with facts and events that appear to be inconsistent or in extreme contrast with what they think any scheme inaugurated and sustained by a just and holy God should be.

Much special pleading and many specious arguments have been employed to reconcile or to explain, consistently with the character of God and the final purpose He has in view, the moral imperfections of the Old Testament as a whole and the imperfections of its most prominent and illustrious personages.

With some a favorite method of explanation has been to subordinate everything to the power and will of God. As He is the author of life He has a sovereign right to deal with it and to dispose of it according to His pleasure. But the morality of God cannot differ from the morality of man. He cannot, therefore, use His power or exercise His will in an arbitrary way, or for other than moral ends. The only sovereignty that can be permitted to reign here is moral sovereignty. Others have preferred to wave aside these problems as inscrutable mysteries, and have comforted themselves with the thought that, while inexplicable and unjustifiable to the human reason and shocking to the enlightened Christian conscience, the acts and systems in question are, somehow, in perfect harmony with God's higher and better wisdom. But this way of disposing of difficulties in the sacred Scriptures is now felt to be unsatisfactory and altogether fallacious. The spirit of free inquiry and the study of the Scriptures inaugurated by the Reformation of the sixteenth century and the historical method of criticism and interpretation which has been growing in favor, are beginning to yield important results. The Bible is gaining in clearness and strength because it is being viewed as the record of an historical process of revelation and development. The advance made in science has contributed much towards this by training the mind to grasp the idea of creation as a unity, an organic whole.

There has been much speculation and disputation on the part of scientists in regard to the origin, antiquity and primitive condition of man, and concerning the means of his development. In 1854 Whately, then Archbishop of Dublin, argued that man could not have advanced from a low state of barbarism without the aid of an instructor to guide him up to a certain point, which point he did not define; and that since man had no other source of knowledge, his divine Creator must have been his Teacher.


In reply to Whately's lecture, Sir John Lubbock (in 1867), at a meeting of the British Association for the Advancement

of Science, read a paper upon "The Early Condition of Mankind." In this paper he came to the conclusion that the primitive condition of mankind was that of utter barbarism; that certain races, by their own unaided efforts, have raised themselves to a higher condition; and that all civilized races are the descendants of men who were once in the lowest possible state of savagery.

The Duke of Argyle discusses the subject in a little work on "Primeval Man," and attempts to put the question into better shape for future consideration and discussion. He regards the proof which each of the aforementioned authors adduces as insufficient. Dr. Whately, for instance, cites as examples a few tribes which have never made any progress towards civilization, and concludes from this that no savage tribe ever did advance, or ever can advance towards the use of mechanical arts and social organization without help from abroad. On the other hand, Sir John Lubbock presents tribes which have made some progress, and claims that they did so without any aid. The relative value of the examples cannot be determined, for there is no record of how the tribes which have made some progress came to do so; and a record left by any tribe or race would prove contact with higher or advanced races and destroy the value of the example.

The Duke of Argyle believes it to be true "that the desire of knowledge is capable of excess," and that the question concerning the origin, antiquity and primitive condition of man, possibly never can be answered on the basis of what are termed scientific data alone. In answer to Bishop Whately he observes, that, "even if savage races be taken as the type of man's Primeval Condition, the evidence of these races is all in favor of the conclusion that, as regards his characteristic mental powers, Man has always been Man, and nothing less;" and that, as the instinct in birds enables them to build nests, so the correspondingly higher endowments of man enable him to cast a stone and wield a club, and thus step by step learn not only to use the material of this earth, but also to fashion it into means for the

execution of his designs. And in reply to Sir J. Lubbock, to whose argument he attaches still less importance, he remarks, in substance, that whilst man's intelligence may have been very limited, it does not follow that he was without a true knowledge of God and a sense of obligation to live in obedience to moral law; that there is nothing more certain than that man is liable to degenerate; that even now, with all the agencies of the Christian religion to hold them up against the opposing influences of sin, men do degrade. He claims that the evidences of degradation are just as great as those of advancement amongst the tribes, which he cites as examples to prove his position. Whether primeval man raised himself by his own unaided efforts, whether he was aided by an instructor who guided him from a lower to a higher condition, or whether he degraded from a state of intelligence and purity, are questions which here concern us only to show how little has been accomplished towards their solution on scientific grounds, and to indicate the consensus of opinion as to the actual condition of the race when it first appears upon the stage of recorded history. Passing by the first few chapters of the book of Genesis which contain the account of the creation and fall of man, we straightway have him presented to us in the succeeding chapters as occupying that same low plane of civilization and morality on which he is found wherever he is seen emerging from the grey mists of pre-historic times. And the problem which God proposed to Himself—we speak reverently in terms of accommodation—the solution of which with its intricacies and difficulties is recorded in the sacred Scriptures—was that of man's elevation and sanctification; the development within him of a conscience keenly alive to the obligation of obedience to the law of divine love. And, to do this, that law had to be implanted and ingrained into man's being, so as to become an inner principle of action, giving direction, tone and strength to his life. To become this, the law had, in the beginning, to be presented to him in an outward, institutional way. He had, by a process of elementary training under the law written and engraved in



stone, to be gradually prepared for it before it could, through his faith in Christ, enter his life, be *engraved* on his *heart*, and so become an ever-present, inner motive to right living.

No tongue or pen can gather up and picture the horrible wickedness, the cruelty, the beastly sensuality which has been perpetrated by man everywhere, even in the presence of the gospel of truth and purity. History and experience bear unimpeachable testimony to the depravity of the race. Yet, man still has within him the elements of a virtuous being. He is not so fallen as to have lost all aptitude for the good and the true, the basis upon which to found the structure of a beautiful and perfect manhood. There is left within him the original germ, which needs only to be quickened and nourished by the necessary divine conditions of its life in order to grow and bear fruit unto righteousness and holiness. This much must be conceded to start with, for "*was nicht im Keim liegt kann auch nicht in der Ernte sein.*" The germ must contain the future harvest. No matter how we account for the depravity of the human race, the low moral and spiritual condition in which it is everywhere found; no matter to what extent man has fallen, as Argyle says, he is still man; he still possesses the elements of true and perfect manhood. Besides, in historical times we find him making earnest efforts towards bettering his condition. That when left to himself his strivings have not issued in any permanent results, is true. And that his moral development could not go forward and result in anything of permanent value without help from above and beyond himself, has been demonstrated by the utter failure of all heathenism on the one hand, and on the other hand, by the complete success which crowned the efforts of the chosen race guided by divine revelation. This we regard as one of the strongest arguments for the truth and value of the Old Testament Scriptures. It is, in a broad sense, a form of self-authentication; for nothing so conclusively proves the vitality of a seed as the harvest it bears.

Morality and religion are not the same, but they are closely allied to each other; so closely, indeed, that it is doubtful

whether they can be wholly separated. Both are conceptions of man's spiritual being, and both must be present, therefore, as correlative and fundamental agencies in any educational system employed for his complete development. Religion without morality soon degenerates into dead formality and hypocritical cant; and morality without religion has nowhere been found. There are those who profess—and appear, too,—to have abandoned all faith in revelation and in supernatural power and help, and yet are very moral in their conduct; but their morality can always be traced to a root of faith that is hidden, and its continued support to a distinctively religious environment. The religion of a people determines the character and worth of their morality. It is true that heathenism has produced some single characters of high moral rank, whilst many in the midst of an atmosphere of revealed truth have sunk very low; but the general plane of moral social life has always been higher in the latter, and by repeated uplifts from age to age has advanced to the present high standard of Christian consciousness, while heathenism has again and again gone to pieces. It is right here that the whole broad gulf between the success of the Hebrew morality and the failure of the heathen morality is to be measured. The philosophical speculations of the heathen are not without merit, and are to be duly appreciated in their proper sphere; but so far as bringing any real saving power to the aid of the race is concerned, they utterly failed. They lacked the inspiration of a perfect ideal, the promise and assurance of whose future realization alone could keep alive hope in the heart. They contained no promise or prophecy of a Messiah in whom a complete development of all the elements of perfect manhood was to be realized. Every effort of heathenism was isolated from every other, and began and ended on the same plane. The heathen mind could invent schemes; but every invention had for its principle some temporal expedient, well-being or pleasure, which never led the masses beyond the refined doctrine of Epicureanism; and when it did attempt to soar aloft, it never got beyond the hazy atmosphere of specu-

lative philosophy—too high for the masses to follow, and not high enough to come down again, bringing any actual help to them. There was no pure heaven above them. Their divinities and celestial abodes were no better than the dwellers and the abodes of earth. If they would succeed at all, they must first purify the gods and cleanse the heavens, and that was a feat altogether beyond the ability of man to perform. Man's instinct demands a God of perfect morality; and whenever he discovers that the divinity he serves is not pure, he straightway abandons it. The human mind can no more tolerate contradictions and impurities in the divinity it serves, than it can allow defects in its own reasoning. No wonder, then, that the imaginations of the heathen filled the earth and Hades with myths and pictures of tormenting disappointments, the echoes of their sad wailings over the failure of human life to find its chief good and best estate.

On the other hand, the ideal which was held up to the Hebrew mind was an eternal, a perfect ideal. The Hebrew race received light and help from above; light that revealed a God of holiness and a heaven of purity. This idea of God's holiness is always kept before the minds of His people: "Who is like unto Thee, glorious in holiness." Holiness was inscribed upon the temple and upon the vestments of the priest who served at this altar. In this respect He was above the gods of the nations, and is called by way of emphasis, "The Holy One of Israel." This produced "the feeling of human sinfulness and impurity," and taught "the clearness and purity of the divine nature, which excludes all communion with what is wicked."* But if He had revealed Himself only as a God of Holiness, His people would have learned to know Him only as transcendent and unapproachable, and, therefore, not in vital touch and helpful sympathy with them. He, however, at the same time manifests Himself as a God of righteousness, and as one who loves and wills righteousness in His creatures. Righteousness means straightness, and the word is so used in the Old

* *Ehler's Old Testament Theology*, page 110.

Testament. A righteous man is one who walks by rule, by a straight line, or in a straight path. The line or path which God drew for His people's guidance is briefly comprehended in the decalogue. He shows Himself also as a God of compassion: "As a father pitieth his children, so the Lord pitieth them that fear Him." They are encouraged to draw near unto Him, to trust in Him for help and strength. Glancing along the line of Israel's history preserved for us in the Old Testament, we observe that, with all its vicissitudes, there is a gradual approach to the high moral standard revealed in the personal life of the Son of Man. We say gradual approach, for the action of God towards the human subject was limited in its operations and effects by the will of the latter.

"God revealed Himself in divers ways unto the fathers." How the revelation was at any time made, whether the Spirit of God communicated with man's spirit immediately or mediately through some external agent, does not concern us now. This much, however, is certain and must be maintained, namely, that the revelation was truly objective; that it had due regard to man's prerogatives as a free agent; and that its presentation was, therefore, in such form and manner as to leave man free to accept and appropriate it, or to reject it. This at times caused it to be, if not misapprehended, at least imperfectly apprehended, the revelation becoming clearer to the understanding as it entered into and became a part of the actual history and experience of God's chosen people. It also necessitated the graduating of revelation to the capacity of those to whom and for whom it was made, keeping always just far enough in advance to lead them, step by step, into higher and better ways of life. For religious and moral growth must ever be largely the result of man's own effort. His mind and will are important factors in the accomplishment of his salvation. Though counseled and influenced by the Word and Spirit of God, he must yield voluntary submission to the Divine will. Hence the moral development of the race is necessarily progressive, and, like the tide of the sea, has its ebb and flow.

Revelation had to enter the sphere of human life and to develop historically. And it had to effect a lodgment in the life of the race at its lowest stage, and to increase in fullness and power as this expanded under its benign influence. Man's moral consciousness could not be developed instantaneously by a single forensic declaration, or by a stroke of infinite divine power; nor could revelation in all its completeness enter the world at a single bound. History in its deepest ground is the story of human life, under the divine guidance and help, to emancipate itself from the thralldom of sin and to reach the goal for which it was destined by the Creator. Man is the agent as well as the object of God's revelation; he is the agent in God's hand for the accomplishment of his own spiritual development.

His in itself is an answer to the often repeated question: Why did God employ imperfect men to be the bearers of His grace and salvation, or the agents to execute His purposes? "That salvation came by man becomes a truth of very wide application as soon as it is understood and acknowledged that the stages of his life are really in God. God had, therefore, to employ man himself as His agent; and He had to take him as He found him. In this He mercifully adapted Himself to man's condition, and exercised patience and long-suffering towards him, not willing that he should be left to perish in his sins. It was at the beginning, in time, of that condescension which culminated in the self-humiliation of His Son to be "born of a woman, born under the law, that He might redeem them which were under the law."

There is no contradiction between the morality of Christ and of His human antecedents. The latter, being relative and imperfect, but growing, ultimately finds its completion in the former. The two are essentially the same. Christ gathers up Himself all the threads of history, those that run back to the beginning as well as those that run forward to its end. The ultimate standard of morals, therefore, which the perfect man Jesus reveals to us; the high moral consciousness and

the highly developed individual conscience of the present age, are the result of centuries of patient forbearance, instruction, and disciplinary training employed on the part of Jehovah, and of numberless severe conflicts waged, and retributive punishment suffered on the part of man. The training which the race underwent was sometimes, apparently, harsh, cruel, and lavish, instead of sparing of human life; but it was always such as was fraught with the least evil; it was the best that could be effectually employed under the circumstances, and at all times had in view high moral ends.

The thoughtful student cannot help being impressed with the fact that this has been the method and course of the history of which the Old Testament gives a faithful account, and of which it is itself a part; that it is a continuous onward movement; that in order to acquire a correct knowledge of it so as rightly to estimate its worth, he must view and study it as a whole, that he must consider and judge every actor in relation to his environments and in relation to the whole. The same principles of judgment are to be applied in this as are admitted in determining the value and the characters of other histories.

There are two acknowledged moral standards of judgment. The absolute moral standard is comprehended, not in an abstract command, but in the actual concrete life of Jesus Christ. According to this standard, acts in themselves, apart from their surroundings and their relations, are approved or condemned. The relative standard is the historical standard which requires us to take into consideration all the circumstances of an action or event, the degree of intelligence, the infirmities of human nature, and the individual and national environments. The imperfections of the past resulting from the incomplete development of moral consciousness must not be judged and condemned by the higher standard and more complete development of the spiritual life of the present. Moreover, not that which results from the weakness and imperfection of human nature as constituted since the fall, but that only which "proceeds from voluntary hatred and rebellion" is to be unqualifiedly condemned.

The characters of sacred history must, therefore, not be violently torn from their places and relations to be separately and independently judged by the absolute moral standard which the history, after a long and painful struggle, finally gained in the gift of God's Son; nor must any section or period of it be treated in a like fragmentary way. Truth demands that the acts and institutions of God and the agents He employed for the accomplishment of His beneficent designs be considered and judged of in the relations in which they are found and out of which they grew. Sacred history is, after all, intensely and essentially human. Acts performed at one time and under certain peculiar circumstances, may be wholly right, whilst, if performed at another time and under altogether different circumstances, they may be wholly wrong.

Keeping these things in mind, we turn to the consideration of some of the alleged moral difficulties that have been urged as serious objections to the claims of the Bible to be divinely inspired, and to contain the record of an historical divine revelation. As the space allotted us does not admit of the discussion of all the objections, we shall notice only the more familiar.

That God should have chosen Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, to be the progenitors and leaders of a race that was to enjoy His special favor and care, and through which ultimately all nations were to be blessed; that He should have selected Moses and David as His agents, the one to lead His people from bondage to the land of freedom, the other to organize them into a permanent kingdom, separate and distinct from surrounding tribes—these and similar acts the avowed adversaries of Christianity declare to be inconsistent with the character of a righteous and holy God. For the characters of Abraham and Isaac are tarnished by the fact that they were capable of falsehood; Jacob practiced deception upon his confiding and blind father, and robbed his brother of his rightful inheritance; Moses slew an Egyptian and fled; while David was guilty of the most flagrant acts of immorality.

If we could draw again the veil, which has been gradually lifted, and shut out from our souls the spiritual light which has been increasing in brightness for the last three or four thousand years, so as to bring the range of our moral consciousness within the limits of their horizon; if we could sunder ourselves from the relations of moral supremacy to which our age has attained and surround ourselves with the low moral atmosphere which environed them; if we could, for a season, be what they were, occupy in all respects their position in history, and then again return to our present place without losing at any time our identity or the experience of the two states, we would be better able to judge to what extent they were culpable. In fact this is just what we must do so far as our knowledge of their times enables us to do it. They lived in the childhood of the world's history. Shall the child, with its feeble powers of thought and action, be judged by the same standard as the man of mature years whose faculties are fully developed? Should the act of Moses, who in defence of his kinsman slew an Egyptian and buried him in the sand, be judged by the same standard as the lynching of an offender is at the present day when men stand on an equality before the law, and when the courts are open for a fair trial and an impartial judgment? We do not mean to say that the men of that day were in no sense culpable; but that the degree of their culpability must be gauged by the light and the moral influences surrounding them.

But, aside from this, whom should God have chosen to be His special agents, if not those whom He did choose? Who is prepared to say that He, knowing what is in man, did not elect those who were in all respects best adapted to execute His will? Esau, a cunning hunter, though of a restless disposition, appears to have been the favorite with his father, and his popularity may have been due to his filial obedience, and constant fidelity to the interests of the family. On the other hand, Jacob, of a more ambitious, enterprising and at the same time grasping turn, taking advantage of his father's enfeebled condition and blindness, induced him by false statements and imper-

sonation to bestow upon him the paternal blessing that rightfully belonged to his brother. The Lord elected Jacob, and not Esau, to stand in the ancestral line of Christ, in which was borne onward and upward the moral movement of the world to the time of His advent; and the subsequent history proved the wisdom of the choice. Esau had not in him the nervous fibre, the daring energy and the settled purpose of which heroes and pioneers are made. The Lord does not call perfect men into His special service, for there are none such. He calls those who possess the undeveloped possibilities of performing heroic deeds, and achieving intellectual and moral greatness. "Welt-Geschicht ist Welt-Gericht." A man's vocation is his judgment. He who proves faithful promotes his own and the growth of his people; works out his own and the salvation of the race. And the scriptural characters which are so severely criticised proved equal to the tests put upon them, and advanced, under the teaching and discipline of God, towards a higher condition of moral and religious life. They proved worthy leaders of the people whose moral elevation they were instrumental in promoting. Jacob repented of his transgressions, as did David. Strong characters present strong contrasts. Comparing different periods of David's life, we find contrasts of good and evil so extremely opposite that it is sometimes difficult to believe that they belonged to the same person. But the difference is in the line of progression towards a higher and better condition. And while he, with other Old Testament saints, does not come up to the standard by which one occupying the same degree of prominence under the New Testament dispensation is to be measured, he is not on that account to be condemned as unworthy of the station he filled, nor are the wisdom and holiness of God to be pronounced defective. On the contrary the heroes of the Old Testament are living examples, forever demonstrating the power of God to judge what is in a man.

But we turn to that beautiful picture of unaffected faith which stands out prominently above every other, namely: Abraham's offering of his only son Isaac. The prompt and

willing obedience of Abraham to the command of God won for him the title: "Father of the Faithful." His was indeed a heroic faith worthy of all respect and imitation. We need not wonder that it has been held up as an example to stimulate and encourage the faith of all succeeding generations. But, as in the case with all events of real significance, the circumstance has been appealed to by religious fanatics as sanctioning the most extravagant acts of physical torture and even the destruction of life, as meritorious acts of religious worship. Others object to the whole narrative as fatal to the doctrine of God's righteousness and justice, and hold that God's command to Abraham to offer his son as a burnt offering, involves his character in glaring immorality. It was a hard command, but there are times and occasions when hard commands are necessary. They generally come in great crises, when everything is at stake, and when a single cast of the die, as it were, determines the future for good or evil. We to-day would not obey such a command, no matter whence it came; nor could there be any occasion for such a command. Happily the Christian mind of to-day understands the character of God better. It knows that He does not desire the sacrifice of human blood, that He does not delight in burnt offerings. Who to-day under any circumstances would not rather lay down his own life than cast a beloved child into the fire, even as an act of worship? But there is a vast distance between the time of Abraham and the present; a distance which is measured not only in terms of years, but by centuries of moral and spiritual growth.

Many efforts have been made to explain the narrative in such a way as to make it harmonize with the acknowledged necessary moral character of God. The principle underlying many, if not most of the explanations is, that God being the Creator and preserver of human life has a right to deal with it in any manner pleasing to Himself. But this is obviously destructive of morality. God can do all things, but He cannot contradict Himself. Having created man as a free agent, capable of originating action and of self-determination, He is

compelled by those terms to treat him in a manner consistent with rational and moral freedom.

In what did the trial of Abraham's faith consist? and what was the lesson which the Lord meant to teach him? This is the question which calls for an answer.

Abraham had recently been called and separated from his kindred and nation, who were not only an idolatrous people, but practiced the offering of human sacrifices. He was still surrounded by Canaanite tribes, who customarily sacrificed children on the altars of their heathen gods. Abraham and his wife stood alone in the midst of an idolatrous world. The idea and the practice of sacrificing children were therefore perfectly familiar to him, and the simple offering of a child could not have had a very disquieting effect upon Abraham's mind. But a son had been given to him in his old age, after the hope of posterity was dead within him, and he had been promised that through that son his offspring should become as the stars of heaven for multitude, and that in him and his seed the nations of the earth should be blessed. Isaac was that son of promise, and Abraham's great trial consisted, not in the act of offering a child in sacrifice to his God, a thing familiar to his experience, but in the giving up of an only son in whom alone the possibilities of posterity and the promised blessings were comprehended. It, therefore, involved complete self-renunciation and a firm trust in the faithfulness and power of his God in some way to fulfill His word. It must have been a dark and trying hour for Abraham. And, although we feel that he made the sacrifice of a child no matter of conscience, yet we who have been honored with the confiding love of children can sympathize with him as he leads his child, his only one, on whom he was already leaning, and whose life gives promise and hope for the future, up the ascent to the place appointed for the offering. We cannot forget that Abraham came to a decision to obey without any human counsel or support. His was, indeed, a great faith; it was the faith of a hero, a pioneer, through whom a new ethical era was ushered into the world. Well may he

receive the crowning title: Father of the Faithful and be remembered as an example of child-like trust by successive generations down to the end of time.

As to the objective transaction, we quote the following from Oehler's *Old Testament Theology*, page 64: "The culminating point of worship in the religions of nature was human sacrifice. The covenant religion had to separate itself in this respect from heathenism; the truth in it had to be acknowledged and the falsehood denied. In the command to offer up Isaac the truth of the conviction that human life must be sacrificed as an unholy thing is acknowledged; and by the arresting intervention of God the hideous distortion of this truth, which had arisen in heathenism, is condemned and rejected." It was an educational command which Abraham received, and the lesson he was taught helped to correct his misapprehension of God, and imparted to him the important truth that He who had called him did not desire, nor require of him the sacrifice of human blood, but the consecration of his life to serve the ends of righteousness and purity. The discipline was severe, but it served its purpose and never needed to be repeated. In this event we observe one of those great moral uplifts by which the race was brought into a higher condition of moral consciousness; that is, to a fuller and truer apprehension of the character of God, of the aim and end of human life, and of personal responsibility for the success of its mission. That sporadic cases of human sacrifice occurred in the subsequent history of Israel there can be no doubt (2 King 16:3; 17:17; 21:6); but they can always be traced to heathen Canaanite influences; and those who practiced them were regarded as having departed from the ethical polity of the divine covenant. Such cases were exceptional, and exhibit the power of the tendency of human nature to degradation in spite of the divine teaching and discipline, and the influence of the evil example furnished by the wicked practices of godless neighbors or associates.

Consider, in the next place, the terrible, wholesale destruction of the rebels, Korah, Dathan and Abiram, with their families and all others associated with them.

With great difficulty Moses had brought the children of Israel to the borders of the promised land ; for they had in various ways and on numerous occasions proved themselves to be a refractory people, dissatisfied, stubborn, suspicious, and, as the event under consideration shows, ambitious of power and office. With the exception of two, the persons sent in advance to spy out the land brought back an unfavorable report concerning it. The two who urged the people to go forward and possess themselves of the land narrowly escaped being stoned to death. The general dissatisfaction of the people was conducive to the scheme which the conspirators had in view, namely, to depose Moses and Aaron and take the leadership into their own hands. What their further scheme was, whether to lead the people back to Egypt, as had been proposed after hearing the report of the spies, or to take them elsewhere, does not appear. Like most persons of selfish ambitions, they probably had no purpose or plan in view except to put themselves into positions of honor and power. But evidently matters had reached a crisis. The divine authority under which Moses acted was set at defiance and had to be maintained at any price, or the efforts to save the race be given up. It was : onward to Canaan, the land of promise and freedom, no matter what obstacles lie in the way or how circuitous the route, or back to Egypt and eternal bondage.

It is not against the severe punishment of the arch-conspirators that the Christian feelings protest ; but against the wholesale slaughter of innocent women and children, the destruction of whole families on account of the transgressions of single members. This seems to be carrying the administration of justice to an extreme which could only defeat its proper ends. To-day such a course of procedure would not be tolerated. It would bring about a reaction against those in authority that would sweep them with equal violence from their positions as unfit to rule. To-day the law and the court try the individual charged with wrongdoing, and if, after trial, he is found guilty, due punishment is meted out to him only. But, as already remarked, there is a long

course of upward training between then and now. Then individual responsibility was not yet clearly defined and men did not yet discriminate between the transgressor and his family. Such is the unity and solidarity of the race that the sense of individual obligation and responsibility cannot develop in advance of the moral consciousness of the family, the tribe, or the nation. There is a law of being and an order of development that cannot be contravened or disregarded. As the members of the body grow out of the body and develop *pari passu* with the body, they become increasingly capable of discharging separate and specific functions. In all respects—in moral no less than in intellectual and physical culture—the individual conscience rests in a bosom of powers conducive to its growth; in short the individual conscience is dependent upon the moral life of the community or state. It is true that the morality of the individual, like the physical member, will exert a reflex influence upon the communal life; but, nevertheless, the true order of development is, in the nature of things, as here represented. God could not, therefore, begin the training of the race with the training of its members individually; it would have been a superficial training on the periphery of life and would have fostered anarchy and separatism. Those who to-day labor for the subversion of existing social and religious institutions, professedly in the interest of the individual, only show how little they are capable of appreciating the broad principles which underlie human society. Not so God; He chose the family, the real unit of the race, to start with; and from this He advances to the tribe and the nation. It is this idea of the race which, on the human side, controls and limits the method of development. It is the binding and conserving power of its authority, as well as the authority of the divine command "to go forward," that, in the event under consideration, had to be preserved. Hence the singling out and punishment of the arch-conspirators would not have met all the requirements. The lesson would not have made the impression which was needed. The individual conscience was not sufficiently developed to

profit by any chastisement short of great calamities. Violent and destructive outbursts of wrath and hatred against sin were needed, in those days, to impress the people with the magnitude of the offense and the resultant jeopardy into which it thrust all human interests.

But notwithstanding the apparently cruel severity inflicted upon so many on the occasion referred to, we see unmistakable evidences, too, that the morality of the Hebrews was then already far in advance of that of the heathen, which had remained stationary. The heathen still continued to sacrifice human victims. Their rulers still had at their arbitrary disposal the lives of their subjects. The ruler had it in his sovereign power, for any cause or no cause, to cruelly mutilate, torture, or fling into the fire whole families, if he chose to do so. Life was the mere sport of his capricious will, exercised without reference to altruistic ends or future good. But it was no longer so in Israel. Israel already had a code, according to which justice was far more equitably and adequately administered amongst them than amongst the heathen. The case of the rebels was extraordinary, and could not be dealt with by the ordinary methods which had obtained the sanction of experience; it demanded extraordinary treatment. But Moses and Aaron did not presume to act on their own responsibility. They appealed to heaven, and then acted in accordance with what they understood to be the divine will and pleasure. At such critical times, with no precedent to guide them, they did not even venture to assume absolute power and authority.

From that time on we hear of no more rebellions, and the journey, though prolonged, is steadily continued towards Canaan.

Another similar case of severe punishment is that of Achan. The same principles apply in this case. The sin of Achan was different from that of Korah and his co-conspirators, but it occurred at an equally critical period in the history of Israel and of the whole human race; for the welfare of the race was at the time bound up with the success or failure of Israel. The

people had, in obedience to the divine command, entered the holy land; their feet were treading the ground that was to be hallowed by driving out the heathen, by destroying and breaking in pieces his idolatrous altars and rearing altars to the God of Israel. Jericho had fallen, and the Hebrews were going forth to the conquest of Ai. Surrounded on every side by enemies, it was of the utmost importance that they should maintain strict discipline and bend all their energies to the conquest of the land. Israel was not called to become a band of plunderers, but to become a settled, well-organized community; to become consolidated into a nation for the development of moral and spiritual virtues. One of the essentials requisite for this was a land, a country of their own. Nothing could have been more dangerous to a people acting in the capacity of an army, and practically within the territory of an enemy, than to allow individuals to abandon the prosecution of the important work in hand, in order to gratify their greed for plunder. To have let Achan's offense pass without prompt and adequate punishment as a salutary lesson to all Israel, would have been putting a premium on egoism of the worst kind. The probability is that, under the sway of the passion for selfish gain, the people would have become totally demoralized, when disorganization and dispersion would have followed; and Israel, dispersed, would have fallen an easy prey to the surrounding enemies, and so have failed of the end of its calling. Here again the Lord brought the race through a narrow pass on its way to final deliverance. It was done at the cost of much suffering and of many apparently innocent lives, but it was better that many should perish than that the whole cause should perish. The punishment was what the times demanded and justified. The people made no objection, and the writers recorded the events without a word of criticism.

In the same way the exterminating wars which the Jews waged can be justified. Every one knows that in time of war measures are used and things are done which could not be justified in time of peace. In our day the suspension of

"habeas corpus," the levying of extraordinary taxes and import duties, the incidental destruction of personal property, the occupation and devastation of land are some of the oppressive features of war which fall alike upon the good and the bad, the guilty and the innocent. That wars have been necessary for the settlement of disputes and the maintenance of the right cannot be gainsaid. The preservation of the life of a nation must be held to be of more value for the race than the preservation of any private interests. But to practice cruelties, or to cause unnecessary sufferings, is condemned by the moral judgment of Christian civilization. The destruction of life and property, especially of non-combatants, is in modern warfare deprecated and, if possible, avoided. Only so far as it is necessary to the maintenance of a just cause, does the present moral sense of the civilized world justify even the destruction of property. It was not so in the times when Israel drove the heathen Canaanites out of Palestine. And even here we find some advance upon previous times and upon heathen customs. The heathen tortured their prisoners, and even mutilated the bodies of the slain. Israel is at one time commanded to cut down palm trees and to destroy olive groves (2 Kin. 3: 19), but afterwards this barbarous custom was forbidden (Deut. 20: 19).

It is idle to say that God might in some miraculous way have given the Israelites the land they were to occupy. According to the principles already stated, God could not have done this without contradicting Himself and destroying human freedom. He can be a light and a help to His people, but He cannot by a species of supernaturalism forestall man in his own proper sphere of subjugating the earth, which has become more than doubly difficult through the fall. By so doing He would have atrophied man's intellectual and moral powers instead of developing them; in fact it would have resulted in failure on the part of God to save the race. No, we are shut up to the fact that God did the best that could be done; and that His counsel and His discipline were effectual for the development of Israel's moral consciousness, its sense of duty, of

obligation and responsibility. There is no good that comes into the possession of man except that which is won by his own labor and by serious conflicts with opposing powers. The land that Israel won for itself cost less blood and treasure than perhaps any other that was at all available would have cost. The nations outside of Palestine were more numerous and better organized and equipped to maintain a struggle. The tribes that occupied the several districts of Palestine were more or less independent of each other; they lacked cohesion and centralization under one ruling head; hence they were less able to make any united or protracted resistance.

It is the ultimate outcome, the redemption and salvation of the race, that justifies the incidental suffering attending the struggle. This is, however, not the jesuitical principle that the end sanctifies the means, that one may do evil that good may result. It is the principle that whenever action is necessary one must do the very best thing he can do under the circumstances. And action was necessary; the very best thing possible under the circumstances had to be done or the idea of salvation abandoned altogether.

Are the innocent who perished in the conflict to be compensated for the evils they suffered? In order to fully justify the moral character of God, we are logically driven to the conclusion that God, who is absolutely holy and righteous, who cannot tolerate any injustice, will, at some time, give those who have innocently suffered in this life and who were prematurely cut down in the general destruction attending necessary conflicts for the maintenance of truth, an opportunity of declaring themselves, and in the final consummation and judgment of the world bestow upon them the rewards they merit. If we believe that sin is not punished simply because it is sin, but for the good of man, then we must believe, too, that those who perish in conflicts which were not brought on and could not be averted by them, must receive some recognition of their rights as free moral agents.

That there should be defects in the Mosaic legislation, viz

from our present standpoint, ought not to be a matter of surprise. It is a thing of frequent occurrence to find that laws at one time necessary and eminently serviceable were at a later period modified, or repealed, or, becoming inoperative on account of the changed condition of things, were allowed to remain as dead letters upon the statute books of nations. Civil laws suited to all times and places cannot be formulated after the pattern of any moral ideal, however perfect, and then imposed upon a people. They necessarily have their origin in the circumstances and consciously felt needs of the times. Consequently, laws suited to the ruder conditions of society are either modified or left behind as civilization advances. It would be interesting to draw a detailed comparison between the "First Legislation," or "Book of the Covenant," found in Exodus,* and the Deuteronomic code, contained in Deuteronomy, in order to show what changes had taken place within Israel, and what advance beyond the surrounding Canaanite heathenism Israel had made in the time which elapsed between the giving of the two codes; but we must content ourselves with a brief notice of only a few of the imperfections charged against the Mosaic legislation.

In the earlier legislation, the principles of civil and criminal justice were retaliation and pecuniary compensation. The same law, it is alleged, is still practiced among the Arabs of the desert. It was "life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand," etc. The law grew out of a rude state of society, and answered its needs. But in the Deuteronomic legislation, we perceive that a general advance has been made. The law of retaliation is limited to the false witness. In the earlier legislation the offender betakes himself to the sanctuary, "but the tribunal of the sanctuary is only arbiter, not executive." † In the later legislation, "the sanctuary is still the highest seat of law, but the priest is now associated with a supreme civil judge

* Ex. ch. xix. xxiii.

† The Old Testament in the Jewish Church, (Smith) p. 337.

(Deut. xvii. 9, 12) who seems to be identical with the king" * The laws of Israel are at no time ideal laws, applicable always and everywhere. "But the growth of customs and usage is on the whole upward, and ancient social usages which survived for many centuries after the age of Josiah among the heathen of Arabia and Syria already lie behind the Deuteronomic code. With all the hardness of Israel's heart, the religion of Jehovah had proved in its influence on the nation a better religion than that of the Baalim." †

The lax laws of Moses concerning marriage and divorce, it is true, would to-day prove destructive instead of preservative of the family. But history does not move backward. And their enactment at the time is evidence of the fact that they were intended to regulate and reform the still grosser customs and usages of antecedent times. They served their purpose well in their day, and then passed away, being superseded by others better adapted to the higher conditions of life which grew into existence under their sway. One law begins where another ends, and they, like the nodes in a plant, mark the stages of growth from the rude forms of primitive life towards the Christian ideal.

God chose the family as the unit of the race and made it the basis of social and national life. However imperfect it was to begin with, there is a steady progress towards its elevation and purification. At last it becomes the crowning beauty and glory of Israel. The family life of Joseph and Mary is characterized by the purest love and devotion. In it is found at last an atmosphere of religious and moral culture worthy of being honored with the care and training of the blessed child Jesus. In no other institution could God so well prepare the minds of His people to apprehend the idea of the fatherhood of God. "Like as a father pitieth his children, so the Lord pitieth them that fear Him." Woman gradually acquires her rightful position. It is the son of the free woman that is to be heir of the promise. And to-day it is the Christian family which, as a fountain of purity and religious power, conserves the life of the

* The Old Testament in the Jewish Church, (Smith) p. 367. † *Ibid.*, 369.

nation and of the race. No speedier way to the destruction of existing social, political, and religious institutions could be found than by removing the safeguards of the family and destroying its unity.

If the progress of moral development was slow, it was so, not because God's love for His people at any time failed, but on account of man's slowness to learn and apply the lessons of truth. But God understood the people with whom He had to deal, and He graciously condescended to temper the discipline of instruction and punishment to their capacities and needs. Slow as was the progress, it still was progress. The men whom God chose, and the nation, acquired in time a just conception of Him, a deep conviction of sin, an ardent desire for forgiveness and for fellowship with God. "Out of the depths have I cried to Thee, O Lord." The prophets realize at last and teach the people that what the Lord wants is not the sacrifices of beasts, but the consecration of the heart. "A contrite heart Thou wilt not despise." And so the world was prepared for the coming of Christ. We can truly say that the moral consciousness of to-day is the outgrowth, the result, of long ages of training. The continuity can be traced. Across the plane of time the moral development of Israel forms the one bright line. Faint at first, it grows brighter as it approaches the eternal star from which it emanates and towards which it leads. If it is at times dimmed by the unbelief and corruption of the masses, it is again brightly illumined by the faith and obedience of a "remnant" led by the prophets, who proclaim in ever-clearer tones the love and purpose of God.

When we reflect upon the corruption and violence that has been perpetrated within the blazing light of Christianity, and even in its name, by popes, kings and emperors, we can appreciate the forbearance and long-suffering, the wisdom and power of God, in holding up the life of Israel against the tremendous downward pressure of the tendency in humanity to gravitate back to heathenism. And though at times, as at the exile, the masses fall away into destruction, there is always preserved a kernel of good which becomes the seed of a more advanced growth.

VII.

PAUL BEFORE HIS CONVERSION.

(Translated from Godel's *Introduction au Nouveau Testament*, Vol. I.,
Les Épîtres de Saint Paul.)

BY REV. HENRY S. GEKELER.

THE city of Tarsus in Cilicia, in which the apostle was born,* was at that time one of the most brilliant centres of culture of the Greek world. For literary life and for scientific institutions, Tarsus rivalled Athens and Alexandria.†

We do not know when and on what occasion the family of Paul had been established in this city. *Jerome* claimed that they were originally from the town of Giscala, in Judea (for Galilee), and that after the birth of Paul they had emigrated to Cilicia upon the ruin of that city by the Romans.‡ But Giscala was not taken until 67,§ sixty years at least after the birth of the apostle and probably the year of his death. This is an error so great that one does not know how to explain it. Is it necessary to suppose a capture of that city by the Romans which preceded the war properly speaking, and of which history makes no mention? Such a supposition is scarcely admissible. The basis of truth which motived that statement reduces itself

* Acts 9:11; 21:39; 22:3,—“I am a Jew, born in Tarsus of Cilicia.”

† Paul himself says, Acts 21:39, “A citizen of no mean city.” *Xenophon*, *Anab.* I: 2, 23, “A city great and prosperous.” Comp. also *Strabo* 14: 4, 5 (the zeal of Tarsians for philosophy and every species of culture).

‡ *De Vir. illustr.* at word *Paulus*: “From which (Giscala), when it had been captured by the Romans, he emigrated with his parents to Tarsus, a city of Cilicia;” and *ad Philem.* 5: 23.

§ *Josephus*, *Bell. Jud.* V. 2, 5.

doubtless to this fact, that Paul's family was originally from that city of Galilee, now called El-jisch.

If at the moment of his conversion Paul was already at least thirty years old, as we shall establish later, and if that event took place about the year 36 or 37 A. D., as is probable, we are compelled to fix about the year 7 of our era as the date of his birth, when Jesus, aged ten or eleven years, was still working with his father in the shop at Nazareth.

On the day of his circumcision the babe received the name Saul, or Saül, which signifies *the desired*. Perhaps that birth had been the object of long waiting. But perhaps also this name originated in that of the first King of Israel, who was of the tribe to which the family of Saul belonged.* As Israelites living in Gentile lands usually added to their Jewish name a Greek or Roman name, and generally chose one which by its sound approached nearest to the former (*e. g.*, a Jew called Jesus became Jason, etc.), it is probable that the name Paul was given him as the Latin transformation of his Hebrew name. There has been a desire to find in this name an allusion to his mean appearance (*παῦλος*, the small, *παυρος*, the feeble), or indeed a homage rendered to the Proconsul Sergius Paulus, Governor of Cyprus (Acts 13: 7). It is, in short, at the moment of that magistrate's conversion that the use of the name Paul begins in Acts. But Paul was not a courtier, and it is more probable that this name began to be given to him at that stage of the story, because then the career of apostle to the Gentiles was really opened to him.

The family of Paul was in possession of a right which at that epoch was considered a sort of dignity, that of Roman citizen. It is absolutely without reason that Zeller, Overbeck, Renan, etc., have suspected this statement of the Acts; it is to this fact that the appeal of the apostle, so decisive, to the imperial tribunal attaches itself, and by the same thing his journey to Rome and residence there are explained.† History at that time

* Rom. 11: 1; Phil. 3: 5,—“Of the tribe of Benjamin.”

† Acts 16: 37; 22: 25, 28.

presents many instances of Jews endowed with Roman citizenship, especially among the Jews of Asia Minor, and particularly those of Ephesus, Sardis, Tarsus, etc.*

From his earliest training Paul was placed under the dominion of Pharisaism to which his family belonged from father to son.† To what extent, in the midst of such a family, could he receive during the first years of his life the influence of the surrounding Greek culture? We do not know. It is probable that the effect produced upon the soul of the young Pharisee by the polytheism of Tarsus was not that of attraction, but on the contrary that of a profound repulsion. The leaven of idolatry which permeated the entire Greek life must have inspired disgust in his young heart, even as the spectacle of Athenian polytheism did later in spite of its artistic beauty. Nevertheless it is not possible that a soul as open as his should have been entirely insensible to the Greek spirit and art, and that these means should not to a certain point have prepared him for his future mission better than a strictly Jewish limitation would have done.

It was in general at the age of twelve that the young Israelite commenced to be subjected to the observance of the law, and when he became, as it is called, *bar mitsva*, a son of the commandment; not that religious instruction began at that age. Philo and Josephus agree in saying that from the tenderest age the young Israelites were instructed in the law by their parents

* Josephus, *Antiq.* XIV. 10, 13-19, several times, "Jewish citizens of Rome," or "Our Jewish citizens" (in the mouth of Roman magistrates). I find an interesting notice on this subject in Le Camus' *L'œuvre des apôtres*, I, p. 136. In the war of Brutus and Cassius against Augustus and Antony, Tarsus, having taken the part of the latter, saw itself forced at a certain moment to open its gates to Cassius. To avenge himself he sold a great number of the inhabitants into slavery. But those who arrived in Rome were set free after the victory of Augustus, and were able to return to their own country with the title of Roman citizens. Among these Tarsians, returned to their own land, there was found doubtless a certain number of Jewish families (cf. *Bell. civ.* IV. 64; V. 7). The same writer goes still further and supposes that the Roman name *Paulus* arose in the family of Paul from the illustrious Roman family of that name, which had enfranchised the father of the child.

† Acts 23: 6,—"I am a Pharisee, a son of a Pharisee."

and masters, so that they would respond more quickly to a question on the commandments than to give their own name.* But it was from that moment that the law, moral and ritual, became the rule of their personal life, and it was also at that age that Paul went to live at Jerusalem. He had in that city a married sister.† His parents, who could not have helped seeing his rare talents, had destined him for the profession of rabbi. To that end he was placed under the direction of the most illustrious doctor of the times, Gamaliel,‡ whom the Jews have named the "splendor of the law." He it is who must have been the first to receive the title of Rabban ("our rabbi"). Upon the basis of a tradition which must have originated with a son of Gamaliel himself, named Simon, the Talmud accounts that he had 1000 disciples, of whom 500 studied the Law and 500 Greek wisdom (philosophy and literature) under his direction.§ This liberty which was accorded him of teaching a foreign literature at Jerusalem, proves the exceptional confidence which he enjoyed. The prudent counsel which he uttered in the Sanhedrim at the trial of the apostles (Acts 5:34 ff.), shows the wise circumspection that distinguished him. It is by no means correct to suspect the recital in Acts, because of the contrast between the conduct of the master and that of his disciple. Disciples do not always inherit the moderation of their masters.

What the young Saul was as a student we learn from his own mouth in the Epistle to the Galatians. Not only did he surpass all his fellow-disciples in knowledge of the law and of the traditions of the fathers, but his conduct was in sympathy with his theological zeal; he was in the first rank as to *Judaism*, i. e., as to the practice of Mosaic and Pharisaic observances. He tells us himself what was the end he pursued in dealing

* See Schüner, *Lehrb. des Neutest. Zeitgesch.* 2d ed., Vol. II., p. 353.

† Acts 23:16,—"Paul's sister's son"

‡ Acts 22:3, "Brought up at the feet of Gamaliel, instructed according to the strict manner of the law of our fathers."

§ See Riehm, *Handwörterbuch des bibl. Alterthums*, at word Gamaliel.

thus. He desired above all to attain the ideal of holiness traced in the law, in order to satisfy the conditions required by God to grant to a man the title of just. He resembled that young rich man of the Gospel who wished to know the work necessary to render him perfect. Doubtless a certain ambition, an immoderate desire to obtain the approbation of his superiors, as well as the prospect of arriving at one of those high positions so coveted among the Jews, which eminent rabbis occupied, as his master Gamaliel, mingled itself also in his pious zeal; he recognized, indeed, later the impure alloy which sullied his former righteousness. But this is no reason to deny the noble aspiration which animated that young heart in his incessant intellectual and moral labor, as well as the elevation of the end he proposed to himself.

Alongside of his theological studies, he learned a trade by means of which he might be able one day to make his living. For rabbis must be able to teach gratuitously, and Gamaliel declared that the study of the law, when it was not accompanied by another kind of work, leads to sin.* That trade was, according to Acts 18: 3, that of "tent-maker" (*σκηνοποιός*). The meaning of the term is uncertain. Some see in it the trade of weaver; the work of Paul would have consisted in weaving the coarse cloth which was made from the hair of Cilician goats; it would thus have corresponded with the native land of the apostle. But the expression conducts rather to the idea, to-day more generally adopted, of work which consisted in making the tents themselves, by means of the fabric we have just spoken of. It was thus the work of a tailor rather than of a weaver. The Greek fathers (Chrysostom, Theodoret, etc.) considered Paul's trade still a little differently. It would consist, according to them, in shaping the hides of animals to make tents of, or cases in which to transport tents; in this event it would be the work of a saddler.†

The subsequent history will show of what use for the apostle-

* Cf. Ecclesiasticus 51: 27 and Pirke Aboth 2: 2.

† See Hug, Einl. II., § 79.

late of Paul that means was, which he had acquired in his youth, of providing for his own support.*

May we suppose that to his rabbinical erudition Saul united in some measure the knowledge of Greek literature? If this was so, it would assuredly not be necessary to trace back this species of study even to the time of his childhood passed at Tarsus before his residence at Jerusalem. For whatever may have been the precocity of his intelligence, he was still too young to have made himself then already a Greek among the Greeks. But at Jerusalem, in the school of Gamaliel, he may well have been able, after what has been said, to receive a certain knowledge of Greek authors, whose language he already possessed. Then, when he came back to Tarsus, between his first visit to Jerusalem after his conversion and his first missionary journey with Barnabas, and when he made his residence there for several years, it is inconceivable that he should have remained a stranger to the intellectual surroundings in the midst of which he then lived. He was then about thirty-five years old; he had all the energy and fire of youth, awaiting the moment when the Lord should call him to commence his work of evangelization in the Greek world, and he would keep himself from what might be most useful in accomplishing that task! It is not conceivable—at least he was another man altogether than the one whom his life and activity have made known to us. If then we find in his letter citations of Greek writers, we must not be astonished. There are three such: that of *Menander*, a poet of comedy of the third century before Christ, from whom Paul quotes the words (1 Cor. 15: 33): “Evil company doth corrupt good manners”; the second is from *Epimenides*, a Cretan poet, from whom he cites that characterization of his compatriots (Tit. 1: 12): “Cretans are always liars, evil beasts, idle gluttons”; lastly the words quoted in the discourse at Athens (Acts 17: 28), which we find in two poets: in *Aratus*, a Cilician writer of the third century before

* Cf. 1 Thess. 2: 9; 2 Thess. 3: 8; 1 Cor. 4: 12; 2 Cor. 12: 14; Acts 20: 34, 35.

Christ, who says in his *Phenomena* V, 5: "We all stand greatly in need of Zeus, for we are his race," and (a second time) in the story of *Cleanthus*, in the *Hymn to Jupiter*: "For we are thy race" (*ἐκ σοῦ γὰρ γένος ἐσμέν*), and in the *Golden Poem*: "For mortals are of a race divine" (*θεῖον γὰρ γένος ἐστὶ βροτοῖσιν*).

Schaff cites besides that word of *Pindar* * (*Nem. VI.*): "Men and gods are of a single race; we both draw our breath from the same mother."

Most of the critics, *Renan*, *Weiss*, etc., claim that these citations of the apostle are taken by him from popular usage, and in no wise prove his acquaintance with the writings indicated above. "These words," says M. Renan, "circulated in all mouths like proverbs."† Strictly, this supposition might fit the first two citations which have, at least that of Menander, the character of current maxims. But it certainly fails in regard to the third. For Paul cites here expressly a plurality of authors: *some of your poets*. His acquaintance with the two latter then must be acknowledged, and these two we know also by their works and by their names. And what confirms the view that Paul was really acquainted with them, is, as Schaff has observed, that Paul has even preserved the particle *for*, which would be displaced in a proverbial maxim, and which belongs positively to the two texts of Aratus and Cleanthus.

Assuredly I should not hence conclude the astonishing erudition which has sometimes been attributed to the apostle. But I see in this fact the proof quite certain that at the moment when he pushed out into a domain like the Greek world, which he wished to subject to Jesus Christ, like a true rival of Alexander, Paul in no wise neglected what might assure him of success in that immense conquest.

The apostle speaks (2 Cor. 12: 7) of a thorn which he carried *in the flesh*, of a messenger of Satan, which had been given him to buffet him, in order that he should not be puffed up by

* History of the Chr. Ch., Vol. I. p. 289 ff.

† Les Apôtres, p. 167.

Reason of his revelations. These expressions must designate an evil that manifested itself under the form of violent crises, sudden, and calculated to humiliate profoundly the person who was attacked by them. Is it necessary, as is ordinarily done, to identify this mysterious evil with the malady of which Paul makes mention in his Epistle to the Galatians (4: 13): "You know that because of an infirmity in the flesh I preached the gospel unto you the first time?" It follows from these words that the foundation of the Church in Galatia was occasioned by an illness which retained the apostle in this country which he had wished only to cross (Acts 16: 6). Since the Apostle proceeds feelingly to describe the intense love which the Galatians had then testified to him by saying that instead of turning from him with contempt and disgust (literally with disdain and rejecting), "Ye would have plucked out your eyes and given them to me if that were possible," a number of critics have concluded that the evil in question not only in the Epistle to

Galatians, but also in that to the Corinthians, was an acute ophthalmia (Rückert, Nyegard, * Farrar†). These writers indeed lay stress on Gal. 6: 11, in which they apply the term *ἐκ τῶν ῥαββίμων* to the greatness of the letters with which Paul

has been compelled to write his epistle, because of his inability to see well. It is believed possible, finally, to discover the origin of that infirmity in the blindness with which he was attacked by the luminous apparition on the road to Damascus. Thence his imagination gives itself wings. Thus Mr. Farrar has depicted the lamentable existence of the apostle, obliged to let himself be led about constantly by one of his companions. Apart from the identification, probably erroneous, of that evil which arrested him in Galatia with that of which he speaks in the Corinthians, I cannot view that hypothesis of illness of the apostle as likely. The expression by which Paul describes the affliction, so lively, which the Galatians testified for him during his first residence among them, proves nothing; for it is an

* *Revue Chrétienne*, March, 1878.

† *Life of Saint Paul*, I., p. 652-661.

image often employed to designate the sacrifice of that which is dearest to one in favor of another tenderly beloved. The sense given to the expression *πηλίκα γράμματα*, applied to the greatness of character with which Paul had written his letter, gives to that word a ridiculous meaning. That expression applies very naturally to the length of the letter itself, written altogether in the apostle's own hand, contrary to the habit he had of dictating his letters. Besides, the Epistle to Philemon (v. 19) proves that when he wished to do so, he himself wrote, and that about matters infinitely less grave than a letter to a church.* We see, Acts 20: 13,† that he sometimes accorded himself the pleasure of traveling alone on foot; this it is at least which appears to follow from the opposition between *Paul* and *us* (his companion). Some remaining trace of his blindness is difficult to admit after the miraculous healing which he had received from the Lord by the intervention of Ananias. Finally we absolutely do not see how a disease of the eyes could have had the repulsive and disgusting character of which Paul speaks in Galatians (if the two maladies are distinct), nor how (if they be identified) an evil of this nature could be likened in Corinthians to buffets of an invisible hand which suddenly attacks and strikes down a man in the midst of his activity.

Others have thought with more likelihood, it seems to me, of a nervous trouble of the nature of epilepsy. It must be acknowledged that such a disease, which suddenly reduces a man to a state of unconsciousness, accompanied by symptoms most painful to contemplate, answers much better to the expression employed by the apostle in the Epistle to the Corinthians. This supposition also agrees, up to a certain point, with the expression of Galatians. But what is absolutely opposed to this explanation in the latter epistle, is the context: a fit of epilepsy

* "If he have wronged thee at all, put it to my account: I Paul write it with mine own hand, I will repay it."

† "But we going before to the ship set sail for Assos, there intending to take in Paul; for so had he appointed, intending himself to go *on foot*" (margin).

is passed at the end of one or two days, often in a few hours; it could not then have occasioned a prolonged suspension of Paul's journey. It might also be asked if the immense intellectual and physical activity shown by him without abatement during three decades, would be compatible with such violent cerebral crises. *Krenkel*, the most able defender of this view, replies by the examples of Julius Cæsar, Mahomet, Napoleon I., Milton, etc.* In any case it is not necessary to identify that chronic ailment with the temporary illness which retained Paul in Galatia. If they are distinguished, as I think ought to be done, we might be led to the following supposition. The permanent trouble, but appearing under the form of sudden fits, mentioned in Corinthians, might be that by which certain preachers have been affected, a cramp which suddenly deprives them of speech in the midst of their discourse, and leaves them stammering, and with a sort of rattle in the throat. We can imagine the profound humiliation which an apostle must have experienced to be suddenly smitten with dumbness before an audience that hung upon his words and was ready to cry out: "The voice of a god, and not of a man!" As to the temporary illness that stopped him in Galatia, we might think, by reason of its repulsive and even disgusting character, of a cutaneous eruption which covered his body and countenance with rash or ulcers during a certain number of weeks.

The Jews marry early, and it might be asked if Saul, having attained the age of thirty years at least at his conversion, was not or had not been married. *Clement of Alexandria*, *Erasmus* and others have thought that by the term *συ δυος*, Phil. 4:3, Paul designated his wife (who according to Renan would be no other than Lydia, the seller of purple, the first convert of the church at Philippi). They forget that the epithet *γυνήσις* is masculine, and besides that the duties of conjugal life, such as Paul understood them according to 1 Cor. 7, would have been incompatible with the requirements of a missionary life. Others, *Luther*, *Grotius*, *Ewald*, *Hausrath*, *Farrar*, have claimed especi-

* *Krenkel*, *Beitr. z. Aufhellung der Gesch. u. Br. des Ap. Paulus*, 1890.

ally on 1 Cor. 7:7, 8, that he must have been a widower. For *ἄγαμοι*, not married, opposed to *χῆραι*, widowed, could not, they say, designate any but widowers. I have shown in my Commentary on First Corinthians, *ad loc.*, that that reason is not well founded and that *ἄγαμοι* designates here in general all men not married, widowers or celibates. What Paul says of a special gift that was accorded him, makes us think of a state of celibacy rather than that of widowhood. Mr. Farrar proves that according to Jewish customs of the time, a parallel case would have been absolutely exceptional. But he himself cites certain doctors who on this point establish exceptions to the general rule.*

The exterior of the apostle must have been of wretched appearance. "His bodily presence is weak," said his adversaries (2 Cor. 10:10). In Lycaonia, Acts 14:12 ff., the multitude take Barnabas for Jupiter, and Paul for Mercury; the first had a more imposing presence than the second. But it is a long way from this to the portrait traced by *M. Renan*: "That man of short stature, bald, short-legged, corpulent, having the eyebrows joined together and a prominent nose." That is a caricature drawn from an apocryphal writing of the second century, the *Acts of Paul and Thecla*, and from the *Chronicle* of *Malalas* of the sixth century. It was not known in the second century how the apostolate of Paul closed; all that extended beyond the end of the book of Acts was shrouded in deepest fog, and we should still possess an authentic tradition about the form of his nose and eyebrows and legs!

A question more important to know is whether at the time of his studies young Saul had occasion to see or hear Jesus during one of the sojourns which the latter made in the capital in the course of his ministry. There does not exist in the letters and discourses of Paul any trace of such a fact. It will therefore be prudent to admit that during the two years when he might have seen the Lord, he was absent from Jerusalem, perhaps in the bosom of his family, and that he did not return

* See Hausrath, *Bibellexicon*, Art. Paulus; Farrar I, p. 32.

to the city until after Pentecost, shortly before Stephen's martyrdom. *Farrar* has supposed that this time of absence was employed by him in the work of proselyting in heathen lands. *Weizsäcker* and *Pfleiderer* have thrown out a similar idea, and have seen in this supposed fact a natural preparation for his subsequent apostolate. When we read Matt. 23: 15,* we cannot declare this supposition inadmissible. But nothing absolutely confirms it; and the passage, Gal. 5: 11,† upon which they would base it, has no bearing on the question mooted.

When we embrace with a sweeping glance all the circumstances we have just detailed, we understand fully the impression which the Apostle expressed later, when casting a look over his past life, he expressed himself thus (Gal. 1: 15): "God who separated me from my mother's womb." A Jew by birth and a Pharisaical Jew; this is indeed what he must have been to know by experience that life under the law which was to serve as an envelope of the new-born Gospel, but from which he had the mission to set it free. Born in the midst of the Greek world, in one of the centres of culture the most brilliant of that epoch, this indeed also he must have been in order to possess, in spite of his native repugnance for the manner of heathen life which unfolded under his eyes,—a heart open in some measure to admire the works of ancient genius, to sympathize in some degree with the constant aspiration of the Hellenic spirit toward the possession of truth, toward the realization of the beautiful and the good. By birth a Roman citizen, finally this also he must have been in order to move more freely in the heathen world, and to find a juridical shield against the abuse of power with which the hostility of his compatriots incessantly menaced him.

Thus, by the very circumstances of his birth, Saul found himself to be the living point of union between the three principal spheres of the times, that of Jewish legalism, that of Hellenic culture, and that of Roman citizenship. To that provi-

* "Ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte.

† "If I still preach circumcision, why am I still persecuted?"

dential position he owed the power of preaching the Gospel on Mar's Hill at Athens, and before the imperial tribunal at Rome, as well as in the midst of the Sanhedrim at Jerusalem. In casting a glance backward from one of the culminating points of his apostolic career, how should he not have adored the God who had thus prepared him "from his mother's womb" for the incomparable mission which He had determined to entrust him with?

The same thing holds good for the trade which he had learned from childhood, in which he had occasion to recognize a circumstance favorable to the accomplishment of his apostolate. When, by a motive of signal delicacy (which he has revealed in chapter 9 of First Corinthians), he felt the need of rendering the preaching of the Gospel gratuitous to the Gentile churches, it was to that fact, in appearance so insignificant, that he owed the power of putting into action this generous inspiration of his heart.

In accordance with all this we may imagine what the young Pharisee must have been when he arrived at the age of virility, in the plenitude of his intellectual and moral development, in the full brilliancy of his talents and power: ardent in his faith, severe toward himself, detesting everything which appeared unworthy of God, whether without or within, uniting to an irresistible dialectic great practical ability and indefatigable perseverance, possessing besides all this at the same time the gifts of a lively contemplation and of a sensibility most delicate. Make a synthesis of that choice nature, and imagine all these qualities so various developed in that one man to an uncommon degree, and you will have an idea of what Saul was at the moment when he was called to the role which he was destined to fill on the stage of history.*

* Compare the portrait which Pfeleiderer has drawn of Paul, *Das Urchristenthum*. He speaks of him undoubtedly as an apostle; but the traits indicated suppose some analagous predispositions already in the man: "A sympathy disinterested and a power of devotion which are only rarely found with men of action, and which ordinarily are the privilege of only the most noble natures among women."

VIII.

BISHOP COLEMAN ON EPISCOPAL CLAIMS.

BY REV. C. CORT, D.D.

THE following extract I have copied from the Burlington (Vt.) *Daily Free Press* for February 3, 1894, where it is given as part of a sermon delivered on the previous day by Bishop Coleman of Delaware, at the consecration of Rev. A. C. Hall, the newly-elected Bishop of Vermont:

“The preacher then gave a number of extracts from the royal charters granted to the earliest Colonists, showing how it was that in the beginning this country was colonized for Christianity, and, further, for that form of Christianity which was found in the Church of England.

“From this historical review he drew the conclusion that the Episcopal Church was in a very responsible way entrusted with the religious life of the whole nation. As to the question of priority of our services, there is no reason to doubt even as to New England. It is quite true, and the fact has a significance which all the more bears me out in my argument, that for two centuries the Church was only in name, and yet, in wonderful loyalty, Episcopal. Her preservation without the Episcopate, and yet without heresy and schism, through so long and so critical a period, deserves to rank amongst the most remarkable overrulings of Divine Providence in the ecclesiastical history of any age.”

The sermon, to which this extract belongs, was delivered in the presence of a large body of Episcopal clergy from various parts of the United States and Canada, and may be considered as a good specimen of the remarkable claims set up by high churchmen in behalf of the so-called historic Episcopate. To

my mind it seems lacking in the important elements of sound logic and historic truthfulness. If any Church has a prior claim to exclusive pretensions because of original discovery and settlement of the American Continent, then the claims of the Roman Catholic hierarchy are paramount. Columbus and his immediate successors took possession of this new world in the name of Roman Catholic sovereigns, and Roman Catholic pontiffs confirmed their claims to the right of eminent domain long before the established Church of England renounced the authority of the Pope. If such claims are legally, morally and historically valid throughout all generations, then all Protestant inhabitants of America are interlopers and rebellious schismatics, to be suppressed and excluded as soon as the Holy Mother Church is able to accomplish that result. Then Roman Catholic France would still own by Divine right all of Canada and the American Continent west of the Alleghenies. Her Jesuit missionaries and pioneer explorers first discovered that vast region and took possession of it in the name of the Grand Monarch, whose great ambition was to destroy Protestantism, both in the Old World and in the New. But when Montcalm fell on the Plains of Abraham, and Forbes, with Bouquet and Washington, drove the French from the head waters of the Ohio in 1758, Roman despotism gave way to Anglo-Saxon and Protestant supremacy. And even as a matter of historical priority, the Episcopal pretensions are absurd as regards the religious status of the majority of the American Colonies. They were not settled by Church of England men, nor did they ever recognize the ecclesiastical pretensions of that body. Take Bishop Coleman's own State of Delaware. It was first settled by Swedish and Dutch colonists under the command of a German Reformed deacon, Peter Minnit, who had previously organized the government of New Amsterdam (later New York) under Dutch Reformed and Calvinistic auspices. The subsequent capture of these Colonies by the English did not destroy the prior historical and religious claims of the Protestants from the continent, if there is any validity in Bishop Coleman's

logic. And so it is with respect to the prior claims of Reformed, Baptists, Quakers, Lutherans, Presbyterians, Roman Catholics, etc., in the settlement and organization of New York, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, etc.


These Colonies, as well as New England, were settled at first by God-fearing men, most of whom came to the New World for conscience sake, that they might have freedom to worship God in a country without a king and in a church without a bishop. It is true that this country was colonized for Christianity; but it is not true, in any proper sense, that it was colonized for that form of Christianity which was found in the Church of England, as Bishop Coleman asserts in his Burlington address. Admitting that such a claim might be made in behalf of Virginia, the character of the first settlers of that colony reflects little credit upon their mother Church or mother country. They were largely a band of shiftless adventurers, who were finally furnished with wives purchased for so many pounds of tobacco each, and were not characterized by that conscientious devotion to religious principle which animated the first settlers in more northern Colonies.

But what are we to think of the claim that New England was essentially Episcopal, for two centuries, without heresy or schism, although without the Episcopate? For that is the only meaning that we can draw from the latter part of Bishop Coleman's address as quoted above. What becomes of the historic Episcopate in the face of such declarations?

If it is like some Rocky Mountain stream which can disappear from the surface only to burst forth again hundreds of miles nearer the sea, what becomes of the laying on of Episcopal hands? If Congregationalism or Independency can preserve the true Church or the true religion "without heresy and schism" for two centuries, what need of supplementing it with Episcopal orders at this late date?

If this is historic Episcopacy why insist upon holy orders or ecclesiastical government of any particular form? Where is the historical continuity?

It is an easy matter to claim the whole earth in this style, just as the Pope of Rome claimed in his letter to William, the hoary-headed Emperor of Germany, some years ago, that all baptized persons belong to him and to his Church. The bigoted exclusiveness in one direction is only equalled by the arrogant pretensions in another. The claims of the deposed and exiled Stuarts to the throne of England, or of the successors of Philip II., of Spain, and Louis XIV., of France, to be sovereign lords of conscience over the greater part of the Old World and the New, would have been equally valid. Such methods of argument ignore the fundamental facts and principles of historical development and pervert the plain teachings of sacred Scripture. If there is any fact authenticated by history and Scripture, it is this, that no particular form of government, either for Church or State, was definitely prescribed by our Saviour and His apostles. Government of some form is a necessity, or society will go to anarchy and chaos; but what shall be the precise form of government either for Church or State, the founders of our Holy Religion never specifically defined. That is left to the choice and historical predilections of communities themselves. It is a proof of the Divine and indestructible character of Christianity, that it has flourished under all forms of government and among all classes, conditions and races of mankind. Its essence is not in any outward form of organization, but in living and personal union by faith with the Incarnate Son of God. The same principle of historical necessity that justified the establishment of the Episcopacy in England and other lands under aristocratic and monarchical forms of civil government would demand a different system of Church Government for these United States. Here the principle of representative self-government obtains, as that characterizes the polity of the different branches of the Reformed Church holding the Presbyterian system. Besides, being equally if not more scriptural than Episcopacy, the Presbyterian polity, as that prevails in the Reformed Church, corresponds with the genius of our republican institutions.



As patriotic Americans we ought to cultivate and cherish ecclesiastical organizations which embody the principles of representative Church government, if we earnestly desire to promote the safety and prosperity of the Republic. When our people come to think and act logically and consistently, they will discard the Episcopacy of expediency as well as the Episcopacy claiming exclusively Divine sanction, and make due account of the representative rights of the laity in all Church judicatories. The first Synod at Jerusalem, in which Peter, James, John and Paul took a leading part, sent forth its decrees in the joint name of the "apostles, elders, and brethren." Episcopacy as it existed when Virginia and other of the earlier Colonies were settled, did not set up the exclusive claims to apostolic succession which characterizes many of its modern adherents. The established Church of England was glad to be recognized as evangelical and orthodox by the Reformed Church of Germany and Switzerland. Reformed divines helped to purge the Book of Common Prayer from Popish elements incorporated under Henry VIII. Queen Elizabeth heartily thanked the Reformed Church of Switzerland for the asylum afforded the persecuted English Protestants during the reign of Bloody Mary. Furthermore, she took pleasure in informing the faithful and hospitable Swiss that the established Church of England taught the Reformed doctrine on the Lord's Supper.

The English Church then gladly recognized the validity of ministerial acts of Reformed divines on the Continent, and was pleased to be recognized as an orthodox branch of the Reformed and Protestant Church. The principle of religious toleration in governmental affairs was established by William the Silent, Prince of Orange, and father of the Dutch Republic. And to that illustrious example, James Madison, the father of the Constitution of the United States, appealed in advocating its adoption in our own organic law. The decisive battle of the Boyne, which overwhelmed Popery and the Stuart dynasty and secured the blessings of civil and religious liberty by constitutional

enactment as the birth-right of Englishmen, was fought mainly by Reformed soldiers from the Continent. The Brandenbergers, the Palatines, the Huguenots, along with the Dutch Regulars of William III., led by the Prince of Orange in person, and the Huguenot, Marshal Schomberg and his son Minehart, fought this grand battle for constitutional liberty and Protestant supremacy. Without their heroic struggles and sacrifice the Established Episcopal Church would probably have perished in Great Britain, and Church and State alike would have become subject to Roman Catholic despotism. Let not our Anglican friends forget the Rock from which their civil and religious privileges have been hewn.

IX.

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

AMERICAN CHURCH HISTORY.—THE RELIGIOUS FORCES OF THE UNITED STATES, ETC. By H. K. Carroll, LL. D. New York: The Christian Literature Co., 1893. Price \$2.50.

This is the first and introductory volume of the series to be published on American Church History. We could wish for a very different work, and yet perhaps this was all that was possible under the circumstances. We could wish in this volume a comparison of the leading religious forces of this country so as to give the reader an idea of the influence they exert. But in this volume there is simply an enumeration of all churches and sects, with their statistics, as if all were on one plane and of equal influence. This is all right enough for a certain purpose,—perhaps the purpose the author had in view, as indicated in his title, "Religious Forces." Yet it seems strange to find in a work on *Church History* an account of "The Society for Ethical Culture," "The Spiritualists," "Chinese Temples," "Communitistic Societies," etc. We should have liked to see a comparison of the influence exerted by the leading Christian bodies of this country, considered from their origin and history. To a reader unacquainted with the Church, the mixture here of all sorts and sizes will leave him in a wilderness that is really only bewildering. This volume is the one that will be read by the largest number of readers, for it is too much to expect readers generally to wade through all the following volumes, some score or more in number. The members of a given denomination will, for the most part, read only the volume devoted to their own particular church, and the consequence will be that their knowledge of other churches will remain pretty much what it has been, no more or but little more. Still, for the sake merely of the statistics it contains, this volume will prove very interesting to a large circle of readers.

A HISTORY OF THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES. By Henry Eyster Jacobs, Norton Professor of Systematic Theology in the Lutheran Theological Seminary in Philadelphia. Vol. IV. of the Series. New York: The Christian Literature Co. Price \$2.50.

After an introduction the writer considers the subject of Lutheranism in America under different periods: Period I., The Source and Origination of the Lutheran Church in America; Period II., The

first attempt at organization; Period III., Deterioration; Period IV., Revival and Expansion; Period V., Reorganization. The history of the Lutheran Church in this country runs parallel in many respects with that of the Reformed Church. It was composed mainly of German immigrants who came to this country about the same time and for similar reasons with the early Reformed settlers. It came to an organization under Muhlenberg about the same time the Reformed Church was organized under Schlatter, and between these two missionaries the closest intimacy prevailed. Not only Germany but Holland, the New Netherlands and Sweden furnished members for the Lutheran Church in the New World. How this Church passed through the difficulties of its early history is fully and graphically told in this volume.

It seems to be unfortunate that this Church failed to maintain its unity, and became divided into sixteen different independent bodies, and it is to be hoped the divisive period is now passed and the time not far off when these parts shall be gathered together again under one organization. This volume is exhaustive in its treatment of the subject and eminently worthy of a large circulation not only in the Lutheran Church, but among other Evangelical Churches as well.

THE PSALMS. By Alexander Maclaren, D.D. Volume II. Psalms xxxix-lxxxix. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 51 East Tenth Street. 1893. Price, \$1.50.

The same excellencies which characterize Dr. Maclaren's first volume on the Psalms, which was noticed in this review just one year ago, characterize this volume also. The expositions which it contains, are, without exception, clear, instructive and edifying. They present just such information as most readers need in order to a proper understanding of this portion of the sacred Scriptures. No one can make them a careful study without deriving much benefit from so doing. Of the various practical commentaries on the Psalms with which we are acquainted, these volumes when the third and last will be added to them, will undoubtedly be one of the very best. They should, therefore, have a large sale. Not merely ministers, but also Sunday-school teachers and all other students of the Bible will find them truly valuable.

THE EPISTLES OF St. PETER. By J. Rawson Lumby, D.D., Lady Margaret, Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 51 East Tenth Street. 1893. Price, \$1.50.

This volume treats of an interesting portion of Sacred Scripture. For though the Epistles of Peter make up but a small part of the New Testament, they are not by any means an unimportant part. As coming to us from the chiefest of the Apostles they will always have a peculiar interest for all who believe in the Lord Jesus Christ.

In the preface to his exposition of these Epistles Prof. Lumby

produces strong arguments in favor of the genuineness of both. After calling attention to the fact that some have seriously assailed that of the Second Epistle, he says: "We cannot, however, go back to the evidence produced at Laodicea. Time has swept that away, but, while doing so, has left us the result thereof; and the acceptance of the Epistle by the fathers there assembled will be judged by most men to stand in lieu of the evidence. No court of law would permit a decision so authenticated and of such standing to be disturbed or overruled."

In his exposition of these Epistles Prof. Lumby is clear and in the main correct. There are some passages, as for example, 1 Peter 3:19, and 1 Peter 4:6, the treatment of which is not altogether satisfactory. In view, however, of the class of readers for which his work is more especially intended, he has, perhaps, after all pursued a wise course. As a whole his book is interesting and scholarly, and will repay study. It is scarcely necessary to say that this volume and the foregoing one on the Psalms form part of the series known as "The Expositor's Bible."

THE SERMON BIBLE. 1 Peter—Revelation. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 51 East Tenth Street. 1894. Price, \$1.50.

This volume completes the "Sermon Bible," and is one of the very best of the series. Its general characteristics are the same as those of the other volumes, and have already been referred to in this Review in connection with notices of those volumes. The sketches of sermons in the present volume, however, are of more than ordinary value. They are not only unusually interesting, but also unusually suggestive. We commend it therefore especially to all who find such works helpful. Those who have the other volumes of the series will of course want this also. Rightly used, the whole series will be found serviceable.

ANTI-HIGHER CRITICISM, or Testimony to the Infallibility of the Bible. By Professor Howard Osgood, D.D., LL.D., President Henry Green, D.D., LL.D., Professor William G. Moorehead, D.D., Talbot W. Chambers, D.D., LL.D., James H. Brookes, D.D., George S. Bishop, D.D., B. B. Tyler, D.D., Professor Ernst F. Stroeter, Ph.D., Professor James M. Stiffler, D.D., and William Dinwiddie, D.D. Edited and compiled by Rev. L. W. Munhall, M.A., author of "Furnishing for Workers," "The Lord's Return and Kindred Truths," "The Highest Criticism vs. The Higher Critics," etc. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curtis. 1894. Price, \$1.50.

For the past six years Rev. Munhall has conducted each summer by the seaside an interdenominational Conference, the object of which has been "the promotion of prayerful, critical, exegetical study of the Holy Scriptures." The addresses delivered before the Sixth Annual Conference in Educational Hall, Asbury Park, N. J., August 11-21, 1893, make up the present volume. The subjects discussed in it are the following: Learned Doubt and the Living

Word; the Unity of the Pentateuch; Mosaic Origin of the Pentateuch; the Book of Job; the Book of Psalms; Isaiah; the Book of Daniel; the Book of Esther; Messianic Prophecies; the Gospels; the Council in Jerusalem; the Epistles to the Thessalonians; First Epistle of John; and the Testimony of the Bible to Its Own Integrity. The names of the different speakers which are given on the title-page of the volume are in themselves a guaranty that the various subjects discussed are treated in a scholarly and able manner. Though we are not prepared to accept all the views maintained in these addresses, yet we would heartily commend them to all who are interested in the Higher Criticism as well worthy their attention. It is always well to know what can be said on both sides of every question. Truth is seldom all on one side, and the latest view is by no means always the truest. Neither age nor youth are necessarily in themselves a proof of wisdom or folly. It becomes us, therefore, at all times to prove all things and to hold fast only to that which is good.

OUTLINES OF ECONOMICS. By Richard T. Ely, Ph.D., LL. D., Professor of Political Economy and Director of the School of Economics, Political Science and History in the University of Wisconsin. New York: Hunt & Eaton; Cincinnati; Cranston & Curtis. 1894. Price \$1.25.

This is a highly interesting work and will repay careful study. Though primarily intended for use in colleges, it is also well suited to meet the wants of all who would acquaint themselves with the principles of the subject of which it treats. The work itself is divided into four books. The first book gives an historical introduction to the subject, and treats of the economic life of uncivilized, semi-civilized and civilized man, of the industrial revolution in England, of the economic history of the United States, and of the nature of economics and its relation to other social sciences. Book second relates to private economics, and in it production, transfer of goods, distribution and consumption are considered. Book third is devoted to public economics, and discusses public industry and the relation of the State to private enterprises, and also public expenditures and public revenues. The fourth and last book is devoted to the considering of the development of economics, and treats of the economic ideas of the Ancient World, the Middle Ages, and Modern Times, and also of recent economic writers. Though the treatment of the different subjects is brief, it is nevertheless clear and instructive. What Prof. Ely has to say is always worthy of consideration, even though one may not be able to agree with him on all points.

THE REDEMPTION OF THE BRAHMAN. A Novel. By Richard Garbe. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company. 1894. Price 75 cts.

This is a short but highly interesting story of native life in India. No one can read it without being moved with pity for those who

live under the tyranny of false religion. Though not written especially in the interest of Christianity, this little book nevertheless shows how blessed are they who live where Christianity prevails. We commend the work to all our readers.

THREE INTRODUCTORY LECTURES ON THE SCIENCE OF THOUGHT. By F. Max Müller. With an Appendix which contains a Correspondence on "Thought Without Words" between F. Max Müller and Francis Galton, The Duke of Argyll, George J. Romanes and others. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company. 1893. Price in paper, 25 cents.

These lectures were originally delivered in March, 1887, at the Royal Institute in London. They form, as it were, a preface to the author's larger work on the "Science of Thought." Like everything he has written, they are highly interesting and rich with the treasures of superior scholarship. No one can read them without profit, and they deserve the attention of all who are interested in the subject of which they treat. The preface and appendix add greatly to the value of the present issue of them.

THE DISEASES OF PERSONALITY. By Th. Ribot, Professor of Comparative and Experimental Psychology in the College of France. Authorized Translation. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company. 1894. Price in cloth, 75 cents; paper, 25 cents.

A notice of this little volume appeared in this REVIEW for July, 1891. It is now published in cheaper form, as No. 4 of Vol. I. of the "Religion of Science Library." Though we cannot agree with the author in the conclusion at which he arrives, we can nevertheless recommend his work as one containing much interesting information on the subject of which it treats.

THE LUTHERANS. By Prof. E. J. Wolf, D.D., Theological Seminary, Gettysburg, Pa.

The above is the title of an article originally written for and published in the *National Tribune*, Washington, D. C., September 10, 1891. It is now, by permission, published as a pamphlet of 28 pages, by the Lutheran Publication Society, Philadelphia, Pa., and sold at 10 cents a copy, or 75 cents a dozen. Its purpose is to present a succinct sketch of the Lutheran Church in this country, and to give a brief statement of its doctrines. It is well-written, and contains much valuable information. On a few points its statements, however, are of questionable correctness. With reference to the relation of other Protestant Churches to the Lutheran Church, the author says: "Others went out from her, not she from them. The earliest Reformers in all countries were called Lutherans. And the responsibility for subsequent divisions rests with those who put forth tenets distinctive from and antagonistic to the Mother Church of the Reformation." Unless we have read history altogether amiss, it

would be just as correct, if not more so, to say that the Lutheran Church went out from the Reformed Church. The truth, however, really is, that both Churches, about the same time, and without dependence on each other, renounced the errors of the Roman Church, so that they are twin sisters rather than parent and child. Equally questionable is the implication contained in the following sentence: "The Sacraments which, in common with others, they hold to be signs and memorials, Lutherans regard also as vehicles and bearers of invisible energy, through which the ascended Redeemer touches the individual soul, enduing it in baptism with the beginning of a new life, and nourishing it in the Supper by the communion of His body and blood." What is here claimed as especially the Lutheran doctrine of the Sacraments, is fully as much the doctrine of the Reformed Church. Had Luther and the older Lutheran divines expressed themselves as Professor Wolf does, we doubt whether Protestantism would ever have been divided as it now is. For our part, we can accept his statement as good Reformed doctrine, and we are glad to learn that this has come to be the view of the Lutheran Church.

THE REFORMED QUARTERLY REVIEW

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I.

OUR ZION'S REJOICING.*

BY REV. J. H. DUBBS, D. D.

PSALMS 48: 12-14. "Walk about Zion and go round about her: tell the towers thereof. Mark ye well her bulwarks, consider her palaces, that ye may tell it to the generation following. For this God is our God forever and ever; he will be our guide even unto death."

It was a day of supreme rejoicing when the Psalmist addressed the words of our text to the assembled multitudes of Israel. The people had come from distant regions to return thanks for the signal mercies of Jehovah, who, in a season of national danger, had so securely guarded the mountain of His holiness that not one of its towers had been battered down nor one of its bulwarks broken. To the people of Israel this was the abundant cause of universal rejoicing. Zion was to them the recognized type, the acknowledged centre of the theocracy; it might almost have been termed the axis around which the church and state revolved. Therefore, they burst forth in loud

* A Sermon preached at the Consecration of the new building of the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church at Lancaster, Penna., May 10, 1894.

songs of rejoicing, and their hearts beat with responsive rapture, when in splendid strains of inspired poetry they were bidden to walk about the holy place—to count the towers, to see for themselves that not a single defense was lost; so that when they returned to their scattered homes, and the rising generation gathered round them—whether in city home or desert tent—they might from the rich sources of their personal experience relate the story of the never-ceasing mercy of their fathers' God.

Between festivals so widely separated by time and space a close analogy can hardly exist; but is there not a certain suggestiveness in the text as applied to the present auspicious occasion? Zion, it is true, is no longer localized. Wherever God's word is preached in its purity and the sacraments administered according to the terms of their institution, there is Zion—there God dwells. Yet there is a generic unity in religious rejoicing in all lands and nations; and as we gather this day to consecrate to Jehovah's service this beautiful structure, which by its very nature must concentrate the warmest affections of our Reformed Zion, as we feel that there are thousands of hearts all over the land that beat responsively with ours—the image of ancient Zion rises to our vision, and we join the multitudes that thronged her courts and united in songs of rejoicing when they beheld her mighty bulwarks and magnificent palaces.

On such an occasion as the present every object which we behold—every emotion that thrills the heart—points to a single theme. This is not a season for mourning over past neglect or present imperfections. *Sursum corda!* Let the season supply the theme—the brightest, the happiest, we can conceive—while we contemplate

OUR ZION'S REJOICING.

While thus in rapture we gaze upon the river whose streams make glad the city of our God, is it not well to trace the fountains that have united to swell the generous flood?

I. OUR ZION'S REJOICING IS THE FRUIT OF GENUINE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT.

Half a century ago the great Dr. John W. Nevin said: "Have faith in history, for without it you can have no faith in the world, no faith in yourselves, no faith in God." Nowhere in the world has this truth been more constantly inculcated than in these institutions, and nowhere has it been more completely illustrated than in the grand revealings of the purposes of God in their historic development.

The beginnings of this wonderful process must be sought in distant lands. The Reformed Church in the United States is, as we all know, in a special sense the American representative of the Reformed Church of Switzerland and Germany, the oldest of that series of national churches that springs from the great religious movement of the sixteenth century of which Zwingli, Calvin and Ursinus were distinguished exponents. In its early history its chief centres of influence were Zurich, Geneva and Heidelberg. It was at Heidelberg, under the patronage of Frederick III, the pious Elector, that "the three-fold cord" was twined, and we have always been glad to be known as "the Church of the Heidelberg Catechism."

A living germ involves all the possibilities of a fully developed organism. We are, therefore, not surprised to behold at the very beginning certain characteristics which have distinguished our branch of the Reformed Church through all the ages of its subsequent development. Can any one, for instance, call into question its peculiarly Christologic character? Surely, it was not by a mere coincidence that the earliest important Reformed Synod, held in Berne in 1532, laid down as the fundamental canon of doctrine the truth that "Christ is the centre of Christian teaching" and that "God Himself can be known only as He has revealed Himself in Jesus Christ." Nor was it without due consideration that, in the days when theologians were chiefly concerned with the interpretation of God's decrees, the great Bullinger, the successor of Zwingli at Zurich, ap-

pealed to the Reformed Churches to remember that "Christ Himself is the contents of Divine Predestination."

It is this central truth which in the Heidelberg Catechism is the sun around which each lesser star revolves. It is still, as it has always been, in a special sense the foundation of Reformed doctrine. As the validity of our legislative enactments depends upon their harmonious agreement with the Constitution of the United States, so it is by this touchstone that all our theological and literary teaching must finally be tested. Any lecture, or sermon, or book, that contradicts or ignores this central truth, whatever else it may be, is not Reformed.

A fixed position at the centre allows liberty of movement at the circumference. It was the Christological principle, we hold, that from the beginning rendered the Reformed Church in a peculiar sense the church of union and of freedom. It enabled it to preserve its essential unity under conditions the most diverse; it allowed it to cherish schools of theology by scores without diverting the current of its inner life. Was not that a wonderful historic movement which, without sacrificing its identity, could take up in its onward sweep such widely differing communities as the Waldenses, at Angrogna, and the Hussites, at Sendomir? Concerning this subject Ebrard has well said: "We have always regarded it as really Reformed to be sincerely favorable to union: that is, to accept everything in other confessions that has been proved to us to be true and in accordance with the Scriptures. Above all we rejoice to have given a safe refuge and the rights of citizenship to the disciples of Melancthon who were elsewhere persecuted."

In this way the Reformed Church of the continent of Europe acquired its truly catholic character. Enriched by many precious streams of Christian life it not only remained the church of the martyrs, but became the herald of liberty—the church which gave birth to the champions of freedom who in many lands proclaimed and defended the rights of man—the church which in the person of the great Elector of Brandenburg was the first to declare universal liberty of conscience.

No other church, we venture to say, has held more firmly to its fundamental principle; no other church has more freely expressed its faith in the organic unity of the Church of Christ; no other church has more gladly welcomed the revealings of history in the liberation of the nations.

It was but a little branch of the parent vine that our fathers bore across the sea. Transplanted to uncongenial soil it was long before it was known whether it would live or die; but, thank God! we this day gather a few of its ripened clusters.

Do we fully appreciate the difficulties that encompassed the pioneers in the work of establishing the German Reformed Church in this country? The English churches had been founded in the preceding century; they had been trained to self-reliance and comparative liberality; they had produced men whose names still live in history, long before Boehm and Weiss and Goetschius, about the close of the first quarter of the eighteenth century, began their humble labors among the scattered Palatines of Pennsylvania. Our forefathers were mostly poor people, though possibly, as Stilling says, "Many of them are now high nobility in heaven." They came from widely separated regions, and brought with them local prejudices and various shades of doctrine. That in all their trials they were sustained by a profound religious consciousness cannot be doubted; but they had lived under a state church and could hardly conceive the idea of ecclesiastical self-government. Unfamiliar with the language of this country they were slow to adopt the practical methods of their neighbors; and even the learned pastors who were sent to them from the fatherland were in this respect hardly qualified to become their instructors.

We appreciate the kindness that was shown to our fathers by the churches of the fatherland and especially by the synods of Holland. We are deeply grateful for the blessings that rested on the work of Schlatter and his coadjutors; but after all this was the period of the planting when much of the laborer's toil is hidden from our view. O, that during the long period of the *Coetus* the "fathers" in Europe, instead of distributing an

annual stipend among the pastors of established charges, had seen their way clear to aid them in founding a literary and theological institution! That instead of forbidding the American churches to administer the rite of ordination, they had encouraged them to prepare young men for the ministry and to send them forth to occupy the land!

In spite of all these obstacles there can be no doubt that the Reformed Church of the colonial period developed in normal historic lines. There were great controversies which are now forgotten, and one sect after the other separated from the parent stem; but the church as a whole remained faithful to the truth which had been committed to its charge. The development was slow, but it stood in intimate relation with the past—it looked forward to a grander purpose in the future.

We do not underestimate the importance of the period which immediately succeeded the organization of our earliest synod, whose centennial anniversary we have so recently commemorated. It has been described as a season of disintegration; but statistics prove that in certain directions there was genuine advancement. Pastors felt free to prepare young men for the work of the ministry, and in this way many vacant charges were at last supplied with the means of grace. Some of the older pastors were instructors of no common order; but their students had come to them without proper preparation, and they themselves were burdened with parochial labor. In some instances, it must be confessed, the student's work consisted chiefly in reading Stapfer or Mursina and in preaching in the outlying congregations of his preceptor. Is it not evident that under such circumstances the training of the ministry was entirely inadequate? Men of extraordinary talent, it is true, rose, by unceasing industry, above their unfavorable surroundings; but these were the men who were most ready to confess their deficiencies and to long for better things. Can we wonder that important charges called to the pastorate ministers from other denominations who failed to comprehend the spirit of the Reformed Church; and that some of our oldest churches, espe-

cially in New York, New Jersey and the South, were permanently alienated from the faith of their fathers. Even among the ministers who stood in the same historic life, we know, there were many disagreements. They had been differently trained and varied greatly in faith and practice.

The founding of the Theological Seminary, at Carlisle, in 1825, was the most important event in the history of the Reformed Church in the United States. That it was effected in the face of stupendous difficulties we need not say. Its necessity not only failed to be recognized by a large part of the Church, but it met with bitter opposition. Conventions were held and books written to denounce it, and the opposition finally resulted in a serious schism. It might, surely, have been said of the founders of the Seminary that "they built with one hand and with the other held a weapon." That in this controversy, as in those of later date, errors were committed on both sides we shall not presume to deny. Here we see in part and we know in part, and no man can claim exemption from the imperfections of his nature. It is, however, pleasant to remember that the early opponents of the Seminary subsequently freely confessed that in its establishment the Church had been faithful to her historic antecedents; and that some of them became in days of trial its most enthusiastic defenders.


This is not the occasion to relate the history of this institution with all its trials and triumphs. It would indeed reveal the names of men and women whose faith never wavered; whose self-sacrificing devotion deserves to be forever remembered. On themes so comprehensive we must not dwell; but there is special appropriateness in recalling that marvellous episode during which, in the hour of sore extremity, we appealed once more to the fraternal affection of the fatherland. James Reily was a plain American pastor; but his mission to Europe, in 1825, was crowned with wonderful success. It was through his influence that the King of Prussia became a liberal contributor to the infant institution. Some of the books in our library,

we know, are stamped with the arms of the House of Hohenzollern. It was this mission and its results that encouraged the hearts of our fathers in the darkest days in the history of this institution, and on its roll of honor the name of James Reily deserves a place among the foremost.

For many years the external condition of our Theological Seminary was humble, and yet, strangely enough, it was known through all the land. Its teachers might readily have claimed exemption from taking part in the discussion of questions which extended far beyond the limits of their immediate sphere of labor; but as we study the chronicles of the period we are more and more convinced that for profound scholarship, intellectual force, and dignity of character, they held a place among the foremost theologians of their age. Time would fail us to tell how the professors of the Seminary and College toiled for the class-room and for the press; how they brought from the fatherland the richest products of Christian thought; how above all things they taught those who were within the sphere of their influence to study exalted themes—to think profoundly on subjects of which before they had hardly dreamed. We have surely not forgotten that Rauch was, in this country, the first to publish an important treatise on the profound and fascinating science of Psychology; that Nevin wrote “A Plea for Philosophy,” and that Schaff began his historic labors by directing the attention of American students to “The Principle of Protestantism” and by preparing an exhaustive monograph in answer to the question: “What is Church History?”

All this, it must be confessed, was glorious work. If it was no more, it was, at least, an exemplification of what Lanfranc called “the art of making a small people great.” Yet, in contemplating the upbuilding of our Zion we may be permitted to tell some of the towers, to mark a few of the bulwarks in which we now rejoice.

There was, in those days, a full expression of confidence in the historic life of the Church. At the time of the founding of the Theological Seminary and of Marshall College, the country




was swept by a wave of religious enthusiasm, which, whatever may have been its excellence under other conditions, had proved itself utterly foreign to the life of the Reformed Church. Its influence was disintegrating, and it had already led to a threatening division. Then the publication of a little book, "The Anxious Bench," stemmed the tide in other churches as well as in our own, and the people learned to comprehend and to value their ancient system of religious instruction.

Another important characteristic of this period was the presentation of exalted ideals. Christians were directed to find these ideals in the development of the Church. History was taught as it had in this country never before been taught, not only as a record of past events, but as the outward flow of a divine life revealing itself in the procession of the ages. Men seemed to behold anew the heroes of the faith, delineated with all the fire and energy of genius. One by one the mystic visitors were questioned concerning their message to a later generation. Now it was Nevin who, in his "Mystical Presence," called upon John Calvin to testify concerning the highest mysteries of our faith; then it was Schaff who, amid difficulties of which we can hardly form a proper conception, published in Mercersburg the first volume of his "History of the Church;" a work which, in the Congratulatory Address to its author by the University of Berlin, in 1893, is termed "the most notable monument of universal historical learning produced by the School of Neander." The narrower field of our own immediate history was, in the meantime, by no means neglected. A little earlier Dr. Lewis Mayer, with immense labor, gathered the materials of our early history, and had begun on a large scale a "History of the Reformed Church," of which, unfortunately, a preliminary volume has alone been published. A few years later Dr. Henry Harbaugh undertook the minute researches which resulted in the publication of the "Lives of the Fathers of the Reformed Church," a marvellous work when we consider the difficulties under which it was accomplished. All this may, however, be regarded as preliminary to the work of the pastors who in

countless monographs related the history of their Classes and congregations.

It was, indeed, a time of wonderful literary activity, when thoughts came pressing into the mind and left the recipient no rest until he had set them down in print. Was not the simultaneous publication in a little mountain village of two such periodicals as the MERCERSBURG REVIEW and the *Deutsche Kirchenfreund* an undertaking of almost heroic boldness? Yet who can measure the extent of the influence which was thus exerted—who can number the brilliant minds which were thus trained to those habits of theological research and literary activity which, we venture to say, are still characteristic of their successors? Who can recall the glorious ideals whose contemplation lifted up our people to a higher plane of thinking and being? Is it not an inspiring reflection that the old REVIEW, with title slightly changed, is still regularly published, and that all the professors and many of the alumni of these institutions have in its pages discussed the grandest themes in theologic and philosophic science?

It was not my privilege to be a student in the days when Dr. John W. Nevin's powerful articles began to attract attention to the school at Mercersburg; my recollections are of a more quiet time, when, after the removal of the college to Lancaster, a little company gathered at Mercersburg in half-deserted halls to listen to the eloquence of Dr. Schaff and the practical wisdom of Dr. Wolff; but, after all, the echoes of the earlier period were still heard, and it was easy to gain a consistent idea of its general character. Looking back now over all the intervening years, I see no reason to modify my early impression that it was one of the most remarkable epochs in the history of the Church. It was a time when, in Europe and America, strong men were striving with great thoughts; when, perhaps, in the feeble light vouchsafed them at the dawning of a new era, minor objects were sometimes magnified beyond their due proportions; but it cannot be doubted that lofty souls were struggling towards a higher light. To some of their hearers



the message of these men appeared a marvellous revelation; to others it seemed a deceptive mirage; but whatever may have been their attitude, their minds were elevated by the study of lofty themes—their aspirations extended by a vision of exalted ideals.

Let it also be remembered that during its entire history it has been the purpose of our Theological Seminary—its teachers and pupils—to do honor to our ancient standard of faith, the Heidelberg Catechism. No other company of men, we make bold to say, has in the present century done so much to revive the authority of that precious symbol. What a long series of literary tributes it has called forth, beginning, perhaps, in 1847 with Dr. Nevin's "History of the Heidelberg Catechism," and culminating, in 1863, in the publication of a Tercentenary edition in three languages, the most splendid presentation of that great work that ever left the press! On this subject the professors dwelt with delight, and the alumni produced works of enduring merit. Among the latter an exalted place must be accorded to the great *Commentary on the Heidelberg Catechism*, by Zacharias Ursinus, translated from the Latin by the Rev. Dr. George W. Williard.

The most vigorous branches of the tree of life are adorned by the blossoms of Christian poetry. It was in the normal order that faith and devotion should break forth in song. The hymns of Harbaugh and Higbee were not sporadic effusions; they were the genuine blooming of that truth which their authors believed and taught. Therefore in the ages to come they shall continue to bloom in unfading beauty forever.

On recent days we have no time to dwell. In every line of literary activity there have been constant labor and commensurate progress. With these facts all may be presumed to be familiar. There is, however, special appropriateness, on such an occasion as the present, in the grateful recognition of the fact that one, at least, of the men who were most prominent in the history of our literary development has been spared to complete the crowning labor of his long career. In his monumental

work, "The Institutes of the Christian Religion," which is now in course of publication, the Rev. Dr. E. V. Gerhart has enjoyed the rare privilege of personally distributing the treasures of truth which he gathered in days that are past—of telling to a following generation the precious story of the faithfulness of their fathers' God.

There is a certain pleasure in suffering the mind to dwell on the events we have ventured to enumerate, though they may justly be regarded as mere fragments of a greater history; are they not, after all, chiefly precious because they reveal underlying Christologic principle, because they declare more clearly than words can speak the truth that our present rejoicing is the fruit of genuine historical development?

II.—OUR ZION'S REJOICING IS THE PLEDGE OF PRESENT OBLIGATION.

Where there is no recognition of the authority of the past there can be no sense of real responsibility. This institution with all that it involves, is a sacred trust which must be exercised in the full consciousness of its profound solemnity. We stand in vital union with the life of the past, and if we were separated from it we should wither like a branch that is abruptly cut away from the parent stem. If this institution did not bear with it the life, and spirit, and substance of that branch of the Church of Christ, which it especially represents, it would be unworthy of confidence and respect. Standing as our fathers did in the central truth of the incarnate God, we shall be as ready as they were to become the heralds of liberty. "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free."

We must also have confidence in the principle of progress—we must go forth with stalwart hearts to meet the issues of the present day.

There is a conservatism which is discreditable; a clinging to the past with a tenacity which admits of no advancement. It is, no doubt, a comfortable position; it involves none of the strain and pressure, and even personal danger that accompanies

e who take part in the conflict. No doubt it is, in a certain e, safest to imagine that every possible problem has been ed by our fathers—to confine all thought and life to a trational form—to close our ears to the sound of the conflict that s without the gate. Yet is it right—is it the part of Christcourage—to refuse to lend our strength in the hour of trial e cause which we believe to be true?

he Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church and klin and Marshall College—we do not hesitate to say— not been established to serve the purpose of any false conatism. They will never, we trust, be satisfied to rest in storical stagnation. Their trumpet must not give an uncer-sound when the hosts of the Lord prepare themselves for battle.


he Church of this generation is exposed to dangers which not less threatening than those of former years, though they possibly be more refined and insidious. That we are living period of religious and social transition will hardly be ted by any earnest student of history. The questions h now present themselves to the thoughtful mind are not e which confronted our predecessors; and to answer them ; tax the powers of the most commanding intellect. We ot ignore these questions; we dare not in honesty make ; of them; we must study them with all the eagerness of neoes—with all the earnestness of servants of our Lord. But, ow much labor it will involve! How many misunderstand-it may entail! How many conflicts it must provoke!

o be a teacher—a student—in these days imposes heavy es and vast responsibilities; but it also brings with it high rtunities and glorious privileges. We may sometimes ble for Zion; but we are strengthened by the assurance that This God is our God forever and ever; He will be our guide unto death." We need above all things to cultivate a it of self-sacrificing devotion. From every direction comes ll to high and holy activity. There never was a time when mission of the Reformed Church was so clear; there never

was a period when its opportunities of usefulness were more extended. New fields are opening everywhere, and "the destinies of the world are in the hands of those who work." But what we need more than scholarship—more than unceasing toil—is complete consecration of the mind and soul. This splendid building, the willing sacrifice of thousands of faithful hearts, is this day consecrated to the service of the triune God. This is not a mere formality; for God is no formalist. That which is dedicated to His service He will accept; and His spirit will dwell within these walls, not as an intermittent influence, but as a constant, living, personal presence. Let all who labor here—all who go forth to preach the blessed Gospel—live in the power of that glorious presence; for there is an important sense in which every soul that is duly prepared becomes the subject of divine inspiration. Dr. Schaff was fond of saying to his students: "Study every sermon on your knees as well as with the pen." This is the noblest obligation of all—the ultimate condition of glorious success.

III. ZION'S REJOICING IS THE EARNEST OF FUTURE BLESSINGS.

There must be no disposition to rest satisfied with present achievements. These imposing buildings, with all that they involve and include, rejoice the hearts of all who have waited for them so longingly and yet so hopefully. Is it to be wondered at if, when we walk around this structure, so beautiful in all its parts, so admirably suited to its intended purpose, we should exclaim, in rapturous admiration, "How amiable are thy tabernacles, O Lord of Hosts!" "I had rather be a doorkeeper in the house of my God than to dwell in the tents of wickedness." Yet, after all, we feel that this is but a foretaste of a more glorious banquet. The veil that hides the future may not be withdrawn; but it cannot entirely conceal the glory that shines beyond. The sweetest melodies may not be heard; but we may at least accept the prophetic promise: "All thy chil-



dren shall be taught of the Lord, and great shall be the peace of thy children."

The teaching of this institution is for the Lord, from the Lord, and in the Lord. Its message is peace, enduring peace, consistent peace—grateful to earth and fragrant to heaven. On this day—the brightest in its history—this ancient institution sends forth its greetings to all its children, scattered far and wide. It rejoices in the work they have done—in the institutions they have founded. It invites their responsive sympathy—their cordial coöperation in the work of the Lord. May the day soon come when all the members of the Reformed Church shall feel that they have here a home where a cordial welcome awaits them—when, as they gather from every Christian brotherhood within our borders, they may experience rejoicing more profound, more all-embracing, than that which filled the hearts of the children of Israel when they assembled in the courts of Zion!

As the years roll on, the principle on which this institution is founded will be more fully revealed. In the freedom of the truth it will, we trust, be a potent factor in the advancement of the kingdom of God. Faithful to its historic position, it will welcome the good in all its forms, and cordially recognize the organic unity of the Church of Christ. By its progress it will prepare the way for that eternal unity for which we have so earnestly longed, and which will appear at last as the final revelation of the life of Christ in the world.

As we gather this day in the courts of Zion, we know that our rejoicing is shared by a multitude which no man can number. The glorious company of the apostles, the goodly fellowship of the prophets, the noble army of martyrs—yea, even the holy Church throughout the world—all are partakers in this act of solemn consecration. The faithful servants of the Church in former generations, the earnest pioneers, the self-sacrificing men and women who founded this institution, the beloved teachers—Mayer, and Rauch, and Nevin, and Schaff, and Wolff, and Harbaugh, and Higbee—even multitudes of glorified spirits—can

we doubt that they all rejoice to see our day? For do we not believe in the communion of saints? In such a presence obligations seem light and hope grows stronger. Therefore, we join with God's saints in the song of the Cherubim and Seraphim. Therefore, in the fulness of our thanksgiving, we unite in the ancient collect: "Enable us, O Lord, to follow their faith, that we may enter at death into their joy; and so abide with them in rest and peace till both they and we shall reach our common consummation of redemption and bliss in the glorious resurrection of the last day."

II.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE REFORMED CHURCH ON CIVIL GOVERNMENT.*

BY GEORGE F. BAER, ESQ., LL.D.

A GREAT historian says: "The germ of the Constitutional liberties of modern times lay hid in the bosom of the Reformation." He could have added, with equal historic truth, that the Reformed Church was the principal factor in the development of this germ. Of course, by the Reformed Church, I mean the Church known in history by that name, eliminating modifications in organization caused, and perhaps necessarily, by differences in language, national habit and locality.

The Reformation did not start as an organized movement. It was the outcome of ages of misrule and oppression. The people everywhere were dissatisfied with the existing order of things. The leaders did not originate; they simply formulated the grievances, gave expression to the longings of the masses, proclaimed that which had been slumbering, and which only awaited a voice to give it utterance—a voice that would at once be recognized as the voice of the people.

The revolt was general; but, when the attempt was made to organize and combine it into one organic union, formidable obstacles were encountered. The common view is that the unification of Protestantism was prevented by a disagreement about theological dogmas. To some extent this is true. What we now regard as an unseemly controversy over "*hoc est corpus*

* Delivered at the banquet preceding the dedication of the new Theological Seminary Buildings at Lancaster, Pa., on May 10, 1894.

meum " was a factor in preventing the union of Protestantism in the sixteenth century; but I do not think that a critical examination of the history of the times shows this to have been the controlling factor. The differences between the two great forces of the Reformation, which are known by the names Lutheran and Reformed, were more organic and much wider and deeper; they were differences in the spirit, scope and purpose of the revolution in which they were engaged. To some extent the division was geographical. That which we know as the Lutheran movement had its centre in Saxony, and embraced the neighboring provinces as far south as the Rhine. It had the powerful support of the Elector of Saxony and many of the German electors and princes. From first to last it aimed only to reform the Church. The reformation of the State was not thought of. The Reformed movement was most general in the countries south of the Rhine—that is, in Switzerland, France, some of the Rhine provinces, and the Netherlands. When these people revolted against Rome, they not only revolted against the spiritual abuses of the Church, but against the intolerable civil rule that everywhere had been forced upon them. They could not see how a reformation of religion could be brought about without reforming the civil power by which the tyranny and corruptions of religion were upheld. Church and State, Pope and Emperor, Bishop and Baron, were but different names of a mighty and all-powerful combination that everywhere oppressed the people. In other words, the Reformed leaders sought to reform Church and State.


The conditions in the north and south of Europe were essentially different. In the south, the power of mediæval feudalism was already broken. The revival of learning in Italy had restored to the world the classic literature of Greece and Rome. Men's imaginations were inflamed by the glories of the Grecian republics, and their anger aroused by the cruel debauchery of the Borgia popes. They found the Old and New Testaments full of fierce denunciations against bad kings and false priests. The route of travel and trade from the Adriatic to the cities of

The Hanseatic league was the route of news, intelligence and communication. It developed many free cities to which special privileges were granted. These cities were miniature republics, generally clothed with full local autonomy; their citizens were conscious of their privileges, and possessed a larger degree of freedom than the masses. Switzerland was a confederation of little republics. In the very beginning the Swiss reformers became the leaders of the Reformed movement. They had tasted liberty and longed for more of it. These differences in hope and purpose were clearly developed at the Marburg Conference. You remember it was called to effect a union of Protestantism. The controversy between the Saxon and Swiss reformers over the Eucharist was sharp and bitter. In the end some sort of compromise was reached. It was not satisfactory; compromises seldom are. The conference, however, broke up without accomplishing the union of Switzerland and Saxony in common defence of Protestantism against the assaults of Rome. Why? Obviously because the Saxon reformers saw that the Swiss movement involved more than a mere reformation of the Church. Luther's remark to Zwingli: "You are not of the same spirit," is often quoted and generally applied to theological differences. This is a misapplication. What Luther meant by a different spirit is clearly disclosed by a remark of Jonas, one of his colleagues: "When," said he to Zwingli, "you have reformed the hats of the peasants you will claim to reform the sable caps of princes." This spirit of liberty was strong in Zwingli. He held that political freedom was a Christian duty. It was this spirit that offended the Saxon reformers. At a subsequent period, when the treaty known as the Recess of Augsburg was made, as a result of the victory of the Protestant forces under the leadership of Maurice of Saxony over Charles the Fifth, the Pope and Emperor were careful to concede the benefits of peace to Catholics and to such as adhered to the Confession of Augsburg. The rigor of the laws against heretics was left in force as to the Reformed people. Indeed, it was not until the end of the Thirty Years' War that the ban

against them was removed. The Treaty of Westphalia provided that the Reformed should enjoy, in as ample manner as the Lutherans, all advantages and protection which the Recess of Augsburg (made one hundred years before) afforded.

This exclusion of the Reformed from the benefits of the Treaty of Augsburg is the key-note to an understanding of much subsequent history. Emperor and Pope fully understood this spirit of the Reformed (people). They knew that with them reformation of the Church involved the reformation of civil government, whilst those who adhered to the Confession of Augsburg at that time desired only religious liberty. This difference runs, like the theme of an opera, through the whole story of the Reformation. Napoleon understood it. Speaking of the rivalry between Francis the First and Charles the Fifth, he said that Francis the First might have made himself the great hero of the Reformation had he turned Protestant; but, he cautiously added, he could not have adopted the Reformed faith, which was altogether Republican, and led to the overthrow of monarchy.

The adherents of the Confession of Augsburg, having been pacified by the Augsburg Recess, the Pope and Emperor were left free to exterminate heresy in the Netherlands. The whole power of Spain and Rome was concentrated to crush the Reformation in the Netherlands. In vain did the Netherlands implore the Protestants of Germany to come over and help them. Saint Aldegonde, with the clear vision of a seer, told them at Worms that if they did not help to fight the battles of Protestantism in the lowlands of Holland, the day would come when in fiercer form the conflict would be brought to a finish on the plains of Germany. The Thirty Years' War, with its devastation and depopulation of Germany, was the price paid for deserting the Netherlands. There is no more pitiable spectacle in history than that of Protestant Germany (with the exception of a few personal followers of William the Silent) standing aloof, protected in religion and property by a selfish treaty, whilst the whole might and power of Spain and Catholicism



were concentrated to crush the Protestants in the Netherlands. How much the cause of religious and civil liberty owes to William the Silent! Born a Lutheran, trained a Catholic in the service of the Emperor, he espoused the cause of liberty. As the struggle for liberty and just laws went on, he saw that in the Reformed phase of Protestantism lay the true hopes of freedom. In the hour of greatest struggle he joined the Reformed Church, and led the hosts of Protestantism to victory. A victory that gave, not alone freedom to the Netherlands, but set the example of religious toleration for the whole world. The religious and civil liberty we this day possess grew out of this heroic struggle in the Netherlands.

Switzerland, from a confederation of aristocratic republics, under Reformed influences, has developed into the most democratic of all nations.

Whence come the liberties of England? From the great charter? Magna Charta is among the brightest epochs in history. Its story will never grow old. It will always be the fruitful theme of oratory. Still one smiles at times to hear Americans of Teutonic descent tell how our English ancestors—barons, too, they were—with mailed hand extorted the great charter of our liberties from King John at Runnymede. But Magna Charta was dull parchment—dead and dry as the bones in Ezekiel's vision—until those stern Calvinists in the era of the Commonwealth put life and spirit into the musty old parchment; and even then the life was fitful and the spirit tame until a Reformed Prince, William of Orange, ascended the throne of England. The English call his accession the revolution. Such it undoubtedly was. The limitations on monarchical power, and what is now called English constitutional liberty, date from the landing of William of Orange, a descendant of the great William the Silent, on English soil.


I intended to tell you of our own freedom, and from whence it comes. Time will not permit.

Will you turn to France? The seed of civil and religious liberty was sown there by the Reformed Protestants early in

the sixteenth century. It was soon choked by corruption and blood. From time to time it sprouted into new life and gave promise of glorious things—again to be cut down by remorseless tyranny and persecution. Cut down, but never uprooted. In our generation, we have seen it develop new life and vigorous growth with hopeful promise of becoming a full-grown tree of liberty, under whose shade her people may find rest. Turn where you will, and this fact confronts you—wherever the Reformed faith has become a controlling factor in the life of nations, then has followed, as the day follows the night, the death of absolutism, and a new birth of freedom.

Religious and civil liberty and education are inseparable. The true votary of freedom must ever be the generous patron of learning. There is no more pleasing incident in history than that which tells how the Reformed people of the Netherlands, as a thank-offering for the deliverance from the Spanish siege of Leyden, founded the famous University of Leyden. Well may we, who enjoy the blessings of civil and religious liberty in a fuller and more permanent form than ever fell to the Reformed people of Holland, imitate their example, and build schools and colleges as a thank-offering for the greater blessings of civil and religious liberty which, after ages of toil and struggle, have been vouchsafed to us.

We are here to-day to dedicate this school of the prophets. May it teach a theology pure, broad and tolerant, whose ultimate test of orthodoxy shall be conformity to that first and great commandment: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind;" and a sociology whose fundamental, central and crowning principles shall be founded on that other commandment: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," "for on these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets."



III.

THE POSITION OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH WITH REFERENCE TO CATHOLIC UNITY.

BY REV. J. W. SANTEE, D. D., CAVETOWN, MD.

ANY careful reader of the New Testament, and with some conception of what "the Church" is, feels that the divided interest of our Protestantism is unsatisfactory and contrary to the prayer of the Lord. (John 17 : 21.) But how to remedy "these disorders and heal her divisions," for which the sincere Christian prays, is the great question. It is so contrary to reason and common sense, that from the days of the Reformation on, efforts were made to preserve the unity of the "Body of Christ" and save it from disruption. All the efforts, made in that early day, however, proved to be vain, and the door was opened for division. How long has not the Church, in her collects, prayed, "heal her divisions;" but so far unity has not been restored, and that day seems to be as far off as ever. Of late, special efforts have been made, propositions submitted, especially by the Episcopal branch of the Church, looking towards a closer union between the different denominations and sects, but any one reading the sentiments expressed by different bishops in the Episcopal Church, as well as leading ministers in other branches, must see and feel that there is more sound in these expressions towards unity, than reality. The idea of union seems to be a pleasant one; but when it comes to the test, when the idea is to be realized, no basis is offered whereon to effect it, not even federative, much less organic. As it now stands every denomination is for itself, and instead of harmony there is a continual friction, each one endeavoring to outstrip


the other. With this spirit of division, where we have sect on sect, there can be no union such as that prayed for by our Blessed Lord.

IDEA OF THE CHURCH.

In the work of restoring unity of these various parts, should not the first step be to obtain a clear and distinct idea of what "the Church" is? Is the Church a divine institution, or is she simply an order on this natural plane and an organization similar to the many of our day, made and constituted by men? After all, does not this vast problem (as many others) hinge on that? If the Church is simply an association or a society, contrived by men, then it is not material whether the several branches are organically related or not. And then it matters little whether a person is in membership with one or the other, or no member anywhere. It is a very serious question which needs to be squarely met, whether, in our age that is not, after all, the prevailing sentiment,—whether the idea of the Church as now held differs from any of the so-called human organizations, and whether a person is not as safe in any one of them as in the Church, or as safe without either.

That is not the conception of the apostle as presented in the Epistle to the Ephesians. Here "the Church" is spoken of as a Body—the Body of Christ, and in no sense as an organization originated by men, neither a society formed by "clubbing together."

1. The Church is not a human institution, like any of the worldly orders, the very best of them, neither is she a denomination or a sect, but, 2. A Supernatural Constitution—an order of Grace from heaven, complete and full in the Person of Jesus Christ—a Kingdom, whose object it is to gather into this divine constitution all who obey the call, come from what source it may, for healing, cleansing, for salvation.—So Heid. Cat., Quest. 54. This idea of "the Kingdom," rules the entire New Testament, and in none of the parables can we read anything savoring of such a spirit like to that of our modern denominationalism or sectarianism. All over it we are confronted



with the idea of a body, a divine constitution from heaven, possessing heavenly forces and powers, one life animating every part of it, with no divisive elements. "The Ideal Church" is the power of a new supernatural creation, which has been introduced into the actual history of the world by the incarnation of Jesus Christ, and which is destined to go on, causing "old things to pass away and all things to become new," till it shall triumph fully in the end over all sin and death, and the "whole world shall appear transformed into its image and resplendent with its light." "The fact thus accomplished in His person was at the same time a fact for all time. It included in itself all the resources of life and salvation that were needed for the full redemption of humanity, onward to the grand millennial triumph in which it is destined to have its end. The Church, through all ages, is the depository of these resources." "It (the Church) is a living system, organically bound together in all its parts, springing from a common ground, and pervaded throughout with the force of a common nature. In its very conception, therefore, it is Catholic; that is, one and universal." "The Church, moreover, is the necessary and only form in which Christianity can have a real existence in the world. It is not something added to humanity, as it were from abroad, to assist it in taking upon itself the Christian life as its own highest perfection; but it is this life itself exalting humanity into its own sphere. . . . Out of the Church then, as separated from the general life of Christ, in His people, there can be no true Christian character and no Christian salvation. Christianity and the Church are identical; and it lies in the very idea of this last, that as it is catholic and universal, so it must be also uncompromisingly exclusive." "Through all periods the Church remains the same; and from beginning to end, her history is but the power of a single fact. The actual Church is but a *process*; not only covering a large field in space, but reaching over a long tract in time." . . . "It is something that *grows* in the individual and in humanity as a whole. It works like *leaven* in the mass of the world's life till, in the end, the

whole shall be leavened." . . . "It belongs to the nature of the Church to be one and universal, Catholic as well as holy, in an outward visible way no less than in its unseen constitution. Our whole sect system is something wrong, an abomination in the temple of God, that must pass away before it can be clean and fit for the coming of the Lord." "A Bible society, a temperance union, a benevolent association of any kind, having Christians in its membership, is no church; . . . its organization must be, at the same time, its own, the product of its own life, a true revelation as far as it goes of its own inward constitution."

"The Church of the creed is *life-bearing*. . . It is a perpetual fact that starts in the incarnation of the Son of God, and reaches forward as a continuous supernatural reality to the end of time. As such a fact, it includes life-powers which were not in the world before; . . . they spring perpetually from Christ Himself; . . . they are present, too, always and only by the presence of the Holy Ghost; . . . it is the power of a divine constitution, which lies at the ground of all individual piety. . . . There are resources and provisions in the Church, real supernatural life-powers, which belong to no other constitution, and which our human society, no matter how organized, must ever fail of reaching under any different form." "Without faith in the Holy Catholic Church, there can be no full abiding faith in the Word made flesh." These quotations are from a sermon, entitled "*The Church*," by Dr. J. W. Nevin, at the opening of the Synod of the Reformed Church, at Carlisle, Pa., October 15, 1846.

Again: "The Church is not a mere aggregation or collection of different individuals, drawn together by similarity of interests and wants; not an abstraction simply, by which the common, in the midst of such multifarious distinction, is separated and put together under a single general term. It is not merely the *whole* that covers the actual extent of its membership, but the *whole* rather in which this membership is comprehended and determined from the beginning. The Church does not rest upon its members, but the members rest upon the Church. . . .

We are not Christians each one by himself and for himself, but we become such through the Church. Christ lives in His people, by the life which fills His body, the Church; and they are thus all necessarily one before they can be many."

As to unity. "The Church ought to be visibly one and catholic, as she is one and catholic in her inward life, and the want of such unity, as it appears in the present state of the Protestant world, with its rampant sectarianism and individualism, 'is a lamentation and shall be for a lamentation,' until of God's mercy the sore reproach be rolled away." . . . "Now what is wanted, first of all, is a clear perception, on the part of the Church, that is, on the part of Christians generally, that the want of such visible unity is wrong, and such a wrong as calls aloud continually for redress. . . . The heart of the Church must be filled with an earnest sense of her own calamity, and thus torn and rent with such vast division, before she can be engaged successfully to follow after union and peace. It needs to be deeply pondered upon, that the spirit of sect and party, as such, is contrary to Christ. The present state of the Church involves the sin of schism to a most serious extent. . . . Take altogether, there is schism in our divisions. The unity of Christ's body is not maintained." From a sermon delivered at the opening of the Triennial Convention of the Reformed Protestant Dutch and German Reformed Church, at Harrisburg, Pa., August 8, 1844, by Rev. J. W. Nevin, D.D.

These quotations, long as they are, give us an insight into the idea of that significant question, "What is the Church?" They show also that that idea involves that of unity—the members of the body inwardly bound together by a common life and working together for a common end. But, in the face of this, have we not something different, the spirit of division and of sect? And, say what we will, with all the union efforts made in the way of evangelizing the masses, as in the Moody meetings, etc., when that effort is over, you have the same antagonistic spirit, as uncharitable as ever before. Who does not feel that this spirit is wrong, "that the whole sect system is some-

thing wrong, an abomination in the temple of God ;" and this feeling of wrong, but still with a fanatical zeal for the Lord in its own denomination or sect, is yearning for something higher and better ; and of late voices itself in expressions of the most noted men in the different denominations, and published in the *Independent and Magazine of Christian Literature* ; all deploring these endless divisions and apparently yearning for deliverance and for a unity under some form. But, what is singularly strange, there is not one which touches the question, after all the central one, "What think you of Christ ; what think you of His Body, the Church ?" If our divided Protestantism could make earnest with this question, and be apprehended by the fact that Jesus Christ established a kingdom of which He is King ; that His life and grace are the controlling, ruling forces therein ; that by fellowship with the King in this kingdom the subjects find life, how the denominations and sects would melt away as mist before the rising sun ! Say what we will, here lies the trouble, and it does seem as if faith in the Church in our day, as a supernatural constitution, was lost and the Church dwindled to a simple society or organization constructed by men on the plane simply of the natural. (Luke 18 : 8.)

In the *Magazine of Christian Literature*, for January, 1894, appeared an article from the pen of Dr. Schaff on "Denominationalism and Sectarianism," in which an attempt is made to distinguish between them. It is said, "Denominationalism, as such, may be perfectly compatible with Christian union, as much so as different army corps are with the unity of an army, and different monastic orders with the unity of the Papacy. But sectarianism is essentially exclusive and opposed to coöperation for one common purpose ; it is nothing but extended selfishness under the garb of religious zeal. Denominationalism subordinated to catholic unity and made subservient to it is a blessing. Sectarianism is a curse." "Each denomination should prepare a short, popular and irenic creed of the essential articles which it holds in common with all others, and leave larger confessions of faith to the theologians whose business it is to investigate the

mysteries and to solve the problems of faith." Would not that make the Babel confusion we now have worse confounded? As to the distinction which is made, it is somewhat difficult to see what it is. Are not the largest of our denominations as exclusive, narrow and bigoted as any of what are called sects? In the opinions given in the *Independent* and *Magazine of Christian Literature* on this question of unity, is there not the same opposition to a federal, and much more to an organic, union from that side as from the sects? Have not both sides the same spirit, and is not that the lesson taught all along? And judging from that, union is as far off with the one as it is with the other. What Dr. Schaff wrote in that essay is strikingly said, but may be set down, to a great extent at least, as an after-thought, and presents a distinction without a difference; and that the Episcopal, Methodist and others are sects equally with others. All are born of the same spirit. Only as we see and understand the origin and history of these branches can we judge as to the fitness of propositions made by any one of them towards union.

In the onward course of the Church, the Body of Christ, there is the elimination of that which is foreign to her life, which reveals itself and which calls for reformation. But in all such movements the identity is preserved, and the thread of history unbroken from age to age is preserved. "Lo, I am with you always." It is in this wise that the spiritual house is going up and will continue until it becomes complete, a holy temple in the Lord. This was true in the days of the Master. He purified the temple, driving out the money-changers. On this ground can the Reformation of the sixteenth century be justified. Whatever were the corruptions and abuses in the Church, one thing must be steadily kept in mind, that over the ages, the Lord maintained and preserved the Church, so that there could be no break and then the starting *de novo* the Body of Christ. The Reformation movement was a purifying process, the men engaged in it simply instruments in the hands of Providence to eliminate abuses, but never to set up a new order. However

much to be regretted the form that movement took, it was, nevertheless in God's hands, as much so as the history of His ancient people when ruled by wicked kings under whose reigns the people forsook the Lord and became idolatrous; the people were not cast off, but, under severe discipline, continued His people. So with the Romish Church. Who will deny that the Romish Church, through that man at Rome, did not save society, over the Middle Ages from ruin? Was not that the best form for society over that interesting and instructive period? It had its day; but it preserved the sacred thread of history unbroken. No, the life of Christ, in His Church, cannot fail. As in former periods, so in this, abuses and corruptions began to show themselves, from which the temple of the Lord had to free itself; these had to be eliminated. This is the significance of the Reformers before the Reformation. "In reality all things were hollow with decay: the mediæval age was over, the preparation for a new age was already accomplished, and the world was waiting for Him who should lead out the people from the house of bondage." "Luther entered upon the inheritance of Wycliffe and of Huss, and still further was he indebted to the spirit of German mysticism. . . . He was not so much a theologian as a man who afforded in his own rich nature, unveiled so completely before his age, the materials for theology. . . . Viewed from the standing point of a formal theology, he is full of inconsistencies and contradictions and even dangerous errors." . . . "The Reformation in Switzerland was independent of the movement led by Luther: it began earlier, it followed a leader widely different in character from the hero of Germany; . . . it was based on a different principle, and reached in theology a different result. While Luther and Zwingli were both indebted to the influence of mysticism, yet that which can be traced only as latent in Luther's mind, or may be implied, but is not clearly stated in the doctrine of justification by faith—the idea of the divine immanence—was the fundamental principle with Zwingli, giving unity and consistency to his life as well as to his theology." (Allen's *Continuity of Christian thought*, p. 270, etc.)

As to the abuses and corruptions, it was felt by the College of Cardinals that a reformation was absolutely needed (see Bossuet's *Variations*, vol. i.). No, the Church has a life of its own, is not of man, but from heaven, which, however, interfered with and at times seemingly warped and sickly, will never fail, but assert itself, eliminating what is foreign, and continue its course until the consummation. In this view the Reformation can be justified, and furthermore it must be said, that the reformers did not make the Reformation, but were simply instruments in the hands of God to carry forward the work long before commenced. God's purposes and plans could not be thwarted, whatever of self may have entered into that movement, which surely comprised much of self, but that of the English Reformation much more. It was a movement in the interest of morals and religion, and yet how very much of self is mixed up and connected with it! And who knows but God allowed this self, developing into sect on sect, as a discipline to correct, to chastise and to teach His people, and from which now we yearn to be set free? But suppose that is so, what of that? The golden thread of history—the life of Christ—remained unbroken, in some form, no matter how selfish the actors. Heid. Cat., Quest. 54.

It is unfortunate that no agreement was had at the time when this purifying process in the sixteenth century took place. It was a break of a peculiar character, and because of this spirit of independence a door was opened for the almost untold divisions now afflicting this Protestant body. What is more, there is no power to close that door. Dr. Schaff may write, "Variety in Unity," and that Christian civilization is found more vigorous in Protestant than in countries subject to the Pope. But issue is taken with that in a pamphlet by some unknown author in which our boasted Christian civilization is characterized as nothing higher than a *civilized heathenism*. On this seemingly advanced position of Protestant nations not much stress is to be laid; material prosperity is not always a sure sign of real, solid spiritual growth. Protestantism became divisive. The spirit was to fly off, break away, asserting free-

dom over against authority (1 John, ch. 4). How uncompromising this spirit! Witness the Conference at Marburg. What was the result but sect on sect, and among these again divisions and divisions, so that now from this fertile source we have in this country over two hundred sects. For a thorough exposition of the sect system, the reader is referred to two articles in Vol. I. of *MERCERSBURG REVIEW* by Dr. Nevin. Among other things, it is said, "Not only is our sect system in flat contradiction to the letter of the New Testament: it is at war besides with the divine constitution of Christianity itself. It wrongs the idea of the Church. . . . The bad fruits of the system, in this view, stare us in the face from all sides. . . . It is gross falsehood to say that the influence of sects on one another is wholesome and favorable to the general cause of Christianity. Their emulation is not holy. . . . All zeal for religion is rotten and will be found at last to stink, that springs not from a true interest in religion for its own sake." In this day when propositions are made looking towards union, it would be well to read those articles, containing, as they do, wholesome lessons.

In surveying this vast field and seeing the sects warring and fighting each other, each one claiming superiority, and where special peculiarities are held, on which Shibboleths, as the *sine qua non*, alone a basis is offered whereon union may be predicated; but judging from the jangling voices in the *Magazine of Christian Literature* and the *Independent*, given by representative men, in the Episcopal and other branches, deploring the divisions, longing for union, unfortunately no common basis is proposed whereon to stand to effect it. What in the mean time will take place, God only knows; but that the thread of history—of the Church—shall be broken and lost, amidst this babel confusion can never be, for the "gates of hell shall never prevail." The Church, the life, of Christ is imperishable and will continue whatever sects and foes may do. Now in this seething mass of sect on sect the Episcopal Church is comprehended with all the rest, and from that body come the propositions for union.

It is claimed by some that Christianity was brought to Britain by one of the apostles, and so preserved apostolic succession. That would be entirely to the point were that so. The pretensions of the Episcopal Church cannot be made out historically. The Christianity possessing vigor and force came from Rome. Under the influence of the Papacy the foundations of the vast building, afterward reared, and of which monuments remain to this day, were laid, and the English Church was governed and controlled by the power at Rome, which authority was acknowledged until the time of Henry VIII. The relation between the King and the Pope continued friendly. Indeed, the King was spoken of as the "Defender of the faith." What is to be kept in mind is the fact that the English church originated through influences from Rome, owed allegiance to the Pope, and acknowledged papal authority. Whatever of succession there was came from Rome, and through that source maintained continuity with the ancient faith. (See Dr. Schaff's Ch. Hist., Vol. IV.)

The Schism.—In the movement in which Henry VIII. was one of the principal actors, there was much of the individual and of self. As in the reign of Louis XIV. of France, "I am the State," so in that period, the king would say, "I am the director of the Church." The rupture with Rome led to the schism which is known to every reader of English history. Now commences a reformation. "The Reformation in England was conducted on a method of its own, which differs widely in principle from either of those just mentioned. Its peculiarity lay in the fact that it was essentially a lay movement originating with the King and Parliament rather than with the clergy. Convocation led in no reform, nor had it any disposition to do so; the bishops and clergy accepted and ratified what Parliament dictated. It was the laity and not the clergy who led the Church of England in the great revolution of the sixteenth century, by which the authority of the Bishop of Rome was declared no longer binding." . . . "The theory of the Church which underlay the English Reformation—the tacitly accepted

working theory, whether avowed or not—was not the old Latin idea that the Church lay in the hierarchy. In all the changes that took place, there was implied an organic relationship to the state; the king was regarded as directly and primarily the anointed of God; the Church was simply the whole nation in its religious aspect, for whose well being the king was as directly responsible as for its civil order and prosperity. The worst that is usually said against such a theory is that it is Erastian, whatever that may mean. Cranmer regarded the bishops as holding their jurisdiction from the king, and on the accession of Edward VI., took out a new commission of authority. This theory prevailed through the long reign of Elizabeth before it yielded to another conception of the Church and a different view of the relations of Church and state.” (Allen’s *Continuity*, etc., p. 321, etc.) In accordance with this position the succession as now insisted upon was thought unnecessary and was disregarded. “The first English reformers by no means considered ordination by the parent Church, or descending from the parent Church, as necessary. They would have laughed at the man who would have asserted seriously, that the imposition of the hands of the bishop was essential to the validity of ordination. They would not have owned that person as a Protestant, who would have ventured to insinuate that, where this was wanting, there was no Christian ministry, no ordinance, no Church, and perhaps no salvation. The private opinions of the first English reformers were similar to those of the reformers of Switzerland and Geneva. Hooper, in a letter dated February 8, 1550, informs Bullinger that the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Rochester, Ely, St. David’s, Lincoln and Bath, agreed *in all things* with the Helvetic Churches. . . . Cranmer says positively, that bishops and priests are not two things, but one office, in the beginning of Christ’s religion. . . . Latimer and Hooper maintained the identity of bishops and pastors, by divine institution.” Burnet tells us that Cranmer went so far as to maintain that “no ordination whatsoever is required to make men bishops or priests, but merely the king’s

election and nomination. He contended, in an assembly of bishops, that the king's election and nomination, alone, without any ceremony of ordination, sufficed to make priests and bishops." Dr. Schaff, in *Creeds, etc.*, Vol. I., p. 605, says, "The most learned English divines before the period of the restoration, such as Cranmer, Jewel, Hooker, Field, Ussher, Hall and Stillingfleet, did not hold the theory of an exclusive *jure divino* Episcopacy, and fully recognized the validity of Presbyterian ordination. . . . Bishop Parkhurst uttered a fervent prayer that the Church of England would propose to herself the Church of Zurich as the absolute pattern of a Christian community. Bishop Ponet was of the opinion that the word *Bishop* should be abandoned to the Papists, and that the chief officers of the purified Church should be called *Superintendents* . . . When in Scotland, Queen Victoria takes the communion from the hands of a Presbyterian parson. Prominent clergymen of the Church of England, such as Travers, Whittingham, Cartwright and John Morrison had received only Presbyterian ordination in foreign churches." Now in the reigns of James and Charles I. a change took place. "The doctrine of the divine and exclusive right of Episcopacy was first intimated, in self-defence, by Bishop Bancroft, of London (in a sermon, 1589), then taught and rigidly enforced by Archbishop Laud, etc.; sanctioned in 1662, by an Act of Uniformity, which forbade any person to hold a benefice or to administer the sacraments before he be ordained a priest by Episcopal ordination. By this cruel act two thousand ministers, including some of the ablest and most worthy men of England, were expelled from office and driven into non-conformity." This smacks somewhat of the uncompromising spirit of sect. From these quotations, and they might be multiplied, it is clear that succession, as now insisted upon and taught by the Episcopal Church was not considered necessary, for in fact it was broken off. But there must be authority somewhere to perpetuate and carry forward the Kingdom of God, to preach the Gospel and to administer the sealing ordinances of the Church. The succession must be pre-

served, but cannot be maintained as insisted upon by the Episcopal Church. The succession, as held by them, was broken, which is admitted by some of the most eminent men in that communion, owning that, historically, it cannot be made out: "We believe in the universal priesthood of Christians, as we believe in the universal kingdom; but for this very reason we have no faith in the idea of a particularistic atomistic exercise of any such high function in either case. The priestly power starts in Christ, and from Him passes over to His Body, the Church, to be exercised from its life as a whole, through organs created for this purpose, and not to be snatched away by profane hands for the use of any and every sect, which may take it into its head to set up a separate priesthood and kingdom in its own name. . . . It is the life of the Church as such, the life of the Church as an organic historical whole, which alone can fully legitimate and clothe with power the needful organs of this life, and their necessary functions. If then we must admit some disturbance in the ordinary law of ministerial succession at the Reformation, it does not follow at once that the succession for this reason fell to the ground: the *true succession lay in the life of the Church as a whole*; and if it can be shown that *this* gave birth to the Reformation, it must be allowed to have been sufficient at the same time to make good, in the way of inward reproductive force, any *unavoidable* defect that was found to attend, in this revolution, the outward genealogy of the Protestant ministry. After all, *it is the Church, the presence of Christ's life in His Body, which supports the true line of the ministry*, and not the line of the ministry that upholds mechanically the being and authority of the Church. The Reformation was the product of the old Catholic Church itself: the central consciousness of the Christian world had been struggling towards it for centuries before; it was in the end the organic outburst plainly of the life of Christianity, as an objective historical whole, which simply laid hold of the reformers, and brought itself to pass by them as its organs, without any calculation of their own." (Dr. Nevin, *MER. REV.*, Vol. I., p. 385.)

Now what took place under Henry VIII. is repeated under the reigns of Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth. But space will not allow the reproduction of this interesting period, and the reader is referred to "The Puritan in Holland, England and America," by Douglas Campbell, Vol. I., pp. 432, etc. In the revision of the Book of Common Prayer, assistance came from the Continent and from the old Catholic Church, perpetuating herself in that large, broad stream of Reformed type. "In England, during the reign of Edward VI., the tendency of the Reformation, under an influence from Geneva, had been towards Calvinism. The preachers who fled to the Continent, under his successor, had, therefore, a predisposition in that direction. The reception accorded them in their various asylums made it more decided. In Germany, among the Lutherans, they were neglected and frequently insulted, while by the Calvinists of Switzerland they were received with open arms." This part is really a sad history. The history of the Church during the reigns of Henry VIII., under Edward and that of Queen Elizabeth is dreary and dismal. Talk of the persecutions of Rome, and they appear insignificant when compared with those carried on during the reign of that wretched queen. The condition of the Church and of the clergy was most wretched—the corruptions existing among clergy and people shocking. All this is strikingly told in the history by Douglas Campbell in his intensely interesting work. "The queen was the great despoiler of the Church, . . . and she thus robbed even the universities themselves." It is truly wonderful how dark that period is, full of persecution and of corruption. To satisfy any one let him consult Campbell, Vol. I.

From what has been said, any one can easily see that the Episcopal Church does not occupy that commanding position which she claims and which would entitle her to become the nucleus around which Protestantism is to gather. She owes much of what she is to the Reformed. In the completion of her Book of Common Prayer she was assisted by theologians from the Continent, especially Switzerland, and what assistance came

from Germany was of a decidedly Reformed tendency. This is evident from her Thirty-nine Articles, which are in spirit Reformed. She acknowledged this influence through her representatives. From a letter preserved in Zurich: "The Swiss churches were in 1547 informed that the Church of England had adopted the Reformed doctrine of the Lord's Supper." "It should also be remembered that, as late as 1618, an English delegation was sent, by the authority of King James I., to the Reformed Synod of Dordrecht in Holland, and that the Protestant Episcopal Church of England was there recognized as one of the Reformed churches." The delegation to that Synod consisted of George Charleton, Bishop of Llandaff; Joseph Hall, Dean of Worcester; Samuel Ward, Archdeacon of Taunton, and John Davenant, Professor of Theology at Cambridge. Bishop Jewel, the final reviser of the Thirty-nine Articles, wrote to Peter Martyr (February 7, 1562): "As to matters of doctrine, we have pared everything away to the very quick, and do not differ from you by a nail's breadth; for as to the ubiquitarian (that is, the Lutheran) theory, there is no danger in this country. Opinions of that kind can only gain admittance where the stones have sense." Has the Episcopal Church forgotten this; or, knowing it, is unwilling to acknowledge it? What must be insisted on in all this history is that the theory of Apostolic Succession, as now held and insisted upon, ignoring ordination and confirmation, administered outside of her pale as invalid, because administered by, what that branch affirmed, non-ordained ministers, is given up as untenable and at variance with facts and with history; and therefore the Episcopal Church presents so little of her own in the way of claim to be regarded as a standard to which all Protestantism is to flock and become the nucleus for union. In a word, there is no more here for such a claim than from any other sect.

ATTEMPTS MADE TOWARDS UNION.

To move in the direction of union, the Episcopal Church submitted several propositions as a basis. The four propositions are as follows:



I. The Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, as containing all things necessary to salvation, and as being the rule and ultimate standard of faith.

II. The Apostles' Creed, as the Baptismal Symbol; and the Nicene Creed, as the sufficient statement of the Christian faith.

III. The two Sacraments, ordained by Christ Himself—Baptism and the Supper of the Lord,—ministered with unflinching use of Christ's words of institution, and the elements ordained by Him.

IV. The Historic Episcopate, locally adapted in the methods of its administration to the varying needs of the nations and peoples called of God into the unity of His Church.

These were the proposed propositions. Often the spirit of union seizes the masses, which are gloriously drawn together only to fly asunder and drift back into old ruts as soon as that which draws wanes and passes away. You see this in the large meetings held in the various cities occasionally, and it is a question whether in any one that of unity was advanced beyond what it had been before the work was undertaken. In the *Magazine of Christian Literature* opinions from different bishops are given, and all hinged on the Episcopate. The same is true with regard to the Tract by Dr. Shields, of Princeton, on the Historic Episcopate as a basis of unity. The answers from the bishops all agree on one thing, the Episcopate; on the other side, a denial of the claim and a positive refusal. In these answers you have cropping out the confirmed prejudice of certain forms and rites as the *sine qua non* of unity; especially that of Dr. Tyler and others. But the succession was broken—was given up as unnecessary, and was it not an after-thought on the part of Bancroft and Laud to bolster up a peculiar theory which they advocated? (See Schaff's Creeds, etc., Anglican Art. of Religion, etc.)

Another significant fact, having a strong bearing on this subject, occurred a few years ago, when an attempt was made by the Episcopal Church to unite, if possible, with the Greek

Church. The history of that effort is interesting and instructive. We quote from the *Magazine of Christian Literature*, December No., 1892, p. 219. . . . Mr. Blunt says distinctly that "no minister of any Protestant community, British or foreign, has ever been received as, or permitted to act as, a priest of the Church of England, whatever form of ordination he may have gone through, until he had been ordained at the hands of a bishop." Then follows: "This last statement is one of which one can only say that, if a man could write it, believing it to be true, he must be so ignorant of his subject that he ought not to attempt to write at all; and if otherwise, it would be equally unnecessary and uncourteous to characterize him as he deserves." Again: . . . "that the views of modern high churchmen were not held at all in the early Reformed Church of England, and that the principles of the Reformation 'are more honored in the breach than in the observance.'" We refer more particularly to a work entitled "Notes of a Visit to the Russian Church in the year 1840-'1," by the late Rev. William Palmer. Mr. Palmer went to pay a visit to the Eastern Church in Russia to study its characteristics on the spot. . . He took with him a copy of the Thirty-nine Articles in Latin, together with an introductory Dissertation upon them of his own in the same language. . . . Thus furnished, Mr. Palmer went to St. Petersburg, and in accordance with his theory as a High Churchman, in the modern sense, representing himself to the authorities of the Russian Church, requested to be admitted to communion; not, that is, to be reconciled or admitted as a convert from without, but as, so to speak, belonging of right to the Russian Church by virtue of his membership of the Anglican, on the ground that those two churches were equally branches of the one Catholic and Apostolic Church. One of his principal interlocutors is M. Mouravieff, the Unter-Prokurer of the Holy Synod (the governing body since Peter the Great's time) of the Russian Church, who, though a layman, was an ecclesiastical official and a well-known author on Russian ecclesiastical history. In one of their numerous conferences the following occurs: On my urging on

him a special prayer for the Anglican Church, he said: "We know you only as heretics. You separated from the Latin Church three hundred years ago, as the Latins had before that fallen away from the Greek. We think even the Latin Church heretical, but you are an apostasy from an apostasy, a progression from bad to worse." Again, M. Mouravieff says: "You were a portion of the Pope's Patriarchate, and you rebelled against him." Upon Mr. Palmer objecting, he said: "Did he not send Augustine to convert you? Anyhow, the Pope had acquired, and the Church had confirmed to him, very great power. And did not one of your kings even make England a fief of the Pope?" "If we had any communication with your Church, it must be through the Pope and the Church of Rome. Nor can we recognize you otherwise. Reconcile yourself to your own Patriarch first, and then come and talk to us, if you think you have anything to say to us." And so on, more to the same effect from a priest named Raichoffsky, and the Metropolitan of Moscow, the highest dignitary of the Russian Church.

That interview places the Episcopal or Anglican Church in a peculiar light and falls in with what we attempted to place before the reader, and puts the Church on a par with other bodies, being nothing less than a schism. That being the case, the Episcopal Church is illy prepared to offer herself as a nucleus around which denominations and sects are to gather by offering a basis on which to unite. No, the Apostolic Succession as held and insisted on is an absurdity, and yet that body is to be commended for moving towards union, and is a challenge to the various Protestant bodies at least to consider the propositions made. If union is to be effected, some basis whereon that may be must be found, and where can a basis be found like that offered by the Reformed? Here is a succession resting, not outwardly with bishops, but, as already shown, resting in the Church, and in whose bosom it is carried forward and from thence dispensed. Ordination, if any thing, is more certain in this form than the succession insisted upon by the high church-

men. Here, too, is a platform which is broad and Catholic—that of the Apostles' Creed. She is simply the legitimate succession of the old Church, purged and purified from corruptions and abuses, is simply the Catholic Church (not Romish) having eliminated impurities, and unites in herself all the essential elements of Christianity as set forth in the Apostles' Creed. Her platform is broad, and what is essential to a true Christian faith is found here, which essentials are accepted by the largest portion of the Protestant world. The spirit of the Anglican Church is that of the Reformed. Her theology is that of the Reformed. Her doctrine, as set forth in the Thirty-nine Articles, is Reformed. Her doctrine on the Lord's Supper is that of the Reformed, and even her theory, insisting on a succession, is not different, though coming through a different channel. Though regarded by the Greek Church as a schism, she had, nevertheless, the tact to accept the life of that grand stream, so wide and broad, coming down in the long line and through the Reformation fires, and now known as the Reformed.

But it may be said that, what is now known as the Reformed Church, is but a small body in comparison with other and larger bodies. But that signifies little or nothing at all. Mohammedanism and Buddhism are numerically vastly more than all of Protestantism combined, and yet you say that does not count. Take any one or all of the denominations and sects in the land and examine the history and you will find that which is essential, on which the Reformed has always insisted, is the same broad, Catholic, Reformed platform, and on the other hand, that which gives the peculiarity of sects and denominations, as in the case of the Episcopal, the Episcopate; the Presbyterian, that of rigid Calvinism; of the Baptist, the theory of Baptism, etc., the Reformed never regarded these shibboleths as essential to salvation, and neither do any enter into her platform. If any of the denominations and sects have these shibboleths, and on which, as they suppose, their life depends, the Reformed has none. It may be objected that the Reformed is a sect with the rest, and if what has been published in a cer-

tain book, purporting to give a history of her origin, by Rev. Jas. I. Good, were true and correct, such would be her position. It is said, "that she is an offshoot from the Lutheran." Rev. Jas. I. Good must have read that history to little account to pen such a sentence. His vision must have been very narrow indeed. No; history does not teach such a beginning. She is not a development from Lutheranism. She reaches far back into the past, the life of Christ, unfolding itself over the ages, in that which was the Holy Catholic Church, and in these Reformation days asserted herself anew; not as a new, but the old order, bearing heavenly powers and forces. She is neither Lutheran, nor Episcopal, nor Romish, but is Catholic.

Whatever may be thought of this, one thing is certain that here is a basis, the old Apostles' Creed, on which our divided Protestantism might unite, and if ever union is to be effected it must be on some such basis broad and Catholic as that offered in that large, wide stream comprehended in what is known as the Reformed type.

IV.

EVOLUTION AND ETHICS.

BY REV. R. LEIGHTON GERHART, A.M.

EVOLUTION thinks of the world and every living thing in it as advancing, through the operation of certain laws and by gradual progressive changes, from a rudimentary or incipient state to a completed or finished form. This doctrine, by no means new in the history of human thought, was in modern times first suggested by Des Cartes, and afterwards wrought out definitely by Leibnitz. The latter not only advanced the theory of creation by gradual processes, but conceived also, very clearly and definitely, what is now the very back-bone of the system, namely—the conservation of force—the doctrine that force, by an inherent law of persistency, is never lost, but simply changes its form—finding in the new form, which it assumes, a full equivalent.

On the basis of the general hypothesis there is room for widely divergent views.

Evolution may be regarded as the unfolding, from the rudimentary state, of beings whose type of life and whose genetic and specific features never transcend the predetermined form and mode of action and life incipiently involved in the beginning. Though each distinct species, much more each distinct order, is true to its own ideal norm, yet each attains completeness by gradual growth and development through many successive generations. This is accomplished by the action of the inherent law of life of each species or order, working from within, in conjunction with the forces of the natural world which affect it from without.

Again, evolution may conceive of all living beings as coming from certain primordial germs, which advance to ultimate completeness through a series of changes wrought almost wholly by

external causes, which so affect the primordial germs as to lead, in the course of time, to the production of every kind and species of plant, insect and animal, including man, which now exists. Instead of the distinctive nature and type of life, ultimately evolved, being the unfolding of an ideal involved by creation in the germ, the cause which works distinctions and differences in orders and species of life is made to reside in those forces, acting upon the germ from without. The primordial germ is thus susceptible of becoming a reptile, bird, beast or man as it is outwardly affected. This view, called Transformism, the evolution of one species of plant or animal from a lower and wholly different species, was first advanced by Lamarck, and has since been more completely developed by Darwin. The latter carries his theory so far as to regard all species as having been derived originally from one, or a very few, very low forms of life.

Or, evolution may descend still further, and assume the position occupied by Mr. Spencer. This view begins by affirming the existence of a homogeneous mass, "a *protoplasma* apt to take any kind of form. This protoplasma, in virtue of two laws (the instability of the homogeneous and the multiplicity of effects), incessantly passes from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous, whence comes the formation of species, varieties, races. All animal life ramifies by progressive differentiations, just as the individual, starting from the indistinct state of the germ, determines more and more at each new degree of its development." * The evolution thus described does not proceed from a self-conscious and free personality to definite ends, but from a power unconscious, unintelligent and indeterminate. The mind of man, the instinct of the beast, the plastic force revealed in the plant, and the laws governing the formation of rock and earth, are alike the product of this multiplicity of effects acting without foreknowledge or intent upon this homogeneous protoplastic mass, which, in turn, responds without foreknowledge or intent.

* Janet, *Final Causes*, p. 273.

Evolution, as thus set before us, designated the cosmical process, carries in it three distinct conceptions.

It involves the conception of necessity. Under certain conditions the plant, the insect, the animal is formed and developed without consciousness of what it is to become, and without power to frustrate the forces working to develop it.

It involves the conception of actual transmission to succeeding generations of the natural and physical powers of the preceding generation. There may be increased power, beauty and sagacity; but it is wholly involved in the physical. As the progress of the plant or animal is wholly involved in the physical, so degeneracy follows in the same order.

It involves the conception of the modification and change, by gradual and almost imperceptible approaches, of different forms of life from an almost imperceptible point or germ to the fully grown, fully developed, fully endowed plant and animal.

Though there are strange foreshadowings in the plant, insect and animal worlds of what are the characteristics of man, the moment investigation begins that moment broad, deep lines of divergence appear. This divergence is so palpable that even the most pronounced evolutionist of the Transformist faith is compelled to confess, that the ethical process is distinct from the cosmical. "Social progress," Mr. Huxley tells us, "means a checking of the cosmical process at every step and the substitution for it of another, which may be called the ethical process; the end of which is not the survival of those who may happen to be the fittest, in respect of the whole conditions which exist, but of those who are ethically the best." With increased emphasis, he affirms: "Let us understand once for all that the ethical process of society depends, not on imitating the cosmical, still less in running away from it, but in combatting it."

We have here drawn in clear, precise words a broad distinction—a distinction so great that it amounts to a recognition of different orders of being, which, however closely united, have different spheres of operation, and are animated by different principles. In what does this distinction consist?

The source and spring of the ethical life is the mysterious, partially known force, the will, which is characterized by its freedom from physical necessity, and its freedom from compelled quiescence in those principles which may be recognized as highest and best for the ethical life. While the will feels the need of observing and doing that which is true for it, yet it feels the obligation accompanied by the knowledge that it may set this obligation at defiance, and determine itself to accomplish those very things which it knows to be untrue and self-destructive. As unbound by physical necessity, as beyond sensible cognition, as holding and governing in a sphere of truth apprehensible by the mind alone, the will is not material, but spiritual; not natural, but supernatural.

The will is governed in its activity by the apprehension of truth, which is for it the *sine qua non* of freedom. This truth, which it appropriates, does not consist, however, in the knowledge of the laws governing the physical universe in any of its processes, but in the knowledge of the principles governing the ethical life, which are not susceptible of being transmuted or cast into material forms, or in any manner subdued to the sphere of action, or the mode of being, holding in the cosmical. On the basis of truth thus received the mind reveals one of its highest gifts, that of forecasting an end; an end which it holds before it as unattained, but as susceptible of attainment. Man as an ethical being has the power of projecting before himself a conception of that which he ought to be, but which he is not. He not only has the power of doing this, but there is no true ethical progress until this is done. The decalogue consequently sets before man, as obligatory for him, a law of life which no human being had ever fully and completely obeyed. This law not only served to maintain the man in the possession of those ethical states of being to which he had attained, but did more; it opened before him a higher world of spiritual excellencies, which he was under bond to strive to attain. Through this intelligence it appealed to the conscience within him, and thus became an end, which the will felt moved to make practically real for itself.

By the apprehension of the truth man advances. Each individual appropriates, by his own power of acquisition and diligence, that which is made known to him. He grows ethically, as well as intellectually, by learning. Whatever be the development of brain capacity and nerve organization by congenital transmission from one generation to another, the deepest researches of the physiological psychologist fail to detect any physical ground for belief of congenital transmission of intellectual and moral conceptions. There may be a gradual development of brain organization,—the material vehicle of spirit,—there may be a gradual refinement of nervous organization,—the material vehicle of the spirit's communion and converse with the outer world,—but of inherited moral, æsthetic and scientific truth there is no sign. The moral and intellectual acquisitions of the past are transmitted from one generation to another by instruction, oral, written or printed. The printed page thus stands as one of the signs of the unique character of mind.

That which is thus transmitted from preceding to succeeding generations, through thought and experience, becomes better and more clearly known; and by those who stand on the summit of the world's progress is transmitted to those who stand on the slopes. Thus truth, uttered and re-uttered, filtrates downward till it reaches the plain where the multitudes stand, and becomes the world's possession. The process, however, by which knowledge is acquired is one of the most mysterious of psychological problems. So far as any element or principle of knowledge is new, it comes with the force and in the form of an intuition—a flash of light from the inscrutable depths of spirit. On the other hand, progress in the sphere of the cosmical is by transmission, under pressure of necessity, of physical properties and qualities. The plant and animal must become that which the law of their own being, under the proper physical conditions, tends to make them. There is no self-consciousness; there is no forecasting an end; there is no transmission from generation to generation of anything analogous to an intellectual perception. So far as there is progress, a refinement of type, it is wholly a physical process.

l truth, all sense of obligation, every activity of the will, her with emotion and sensation, all appear united with a act recognition of self-hood in consciousness, which, according to Professor Baldwin, "is a dynamic creative thing with ed to its own content." Here appears in the world that or of manhood which, perhaps of all others, shows most lly the gap between man and all orders of life beneath

The man carries within him an inward illumination, a that burns incessantly, bringing out the distinctive fea- of all his feelings, aspirations, thoughts and deeds so that nters into possession of them as his own, in a manner nd the almost boundless limits of similitude and analogy to irth. But more, in consciousness we find the break in the generally recognized reign of the conservation of force, h appears to hold with undisputed sway in the universe out the man. Whatever be the vital force with which energy sts, simply changing its form as matter is decomposed, but r failing to find its equivalent, with the birth of conscious- this law ceases to operate. Sensation may find its equivalent in thought; but "mental elements come and go in experi- without our being able to point to an equivalent." "The ine of the conservation of energy makes the material world a totality, which we indeed can never measure, but in h the fate of the individual forms and elements can be d. The mental world has no corresponding law to exhibit."* ith the dawn of consciousness and the apprehension of , man begins to create his environments. He creates en- ments to meet not only his immediate need, but environ- s to meet what he conceives to be his future need. All re is directed gradually from that course, which under the ary working of natural law it follows, into a course pre- ed by his intelligence. While he creates no essentially force, yet by physical combinations he brings to light s which in the laboratory of nature have never been vered. Through the free activity of his intelligence,

* "Outlines of Psychology," by Harold Höffding.

in the magic light of his imagination, he calls into being instruments and machines which operate, seemingly in direct violation of the order of nature, for a foreseen end, which for the man is good. The most far-reaching environments which he creates, though manifest through material instrumentalities, are superphysical, intangible, viewless; they are wholly intellectual, æsthetic, moral and religious, and stand before us outwardly expressed, in the college, the seminary, the scientific and art schools;—worlds these are of principles, ideas and facts where personality is the power, and personality armed with knowledge the result. From these worlds man goes forth to loose the mystic bands binding the elements in their native courses, that he may subject them to the deeper servitude of his will, and make them instruments for the expression and advancement of his highest interests. The forces of nature thus become no longer hindrances to his progress, but the very means of his highest advancement; nature in its manifold features and multiplied forces becomes the manifestation of personality, the outward and material garb of spirit; the world becomes more and more man's larger self.

Mr. Huxley tells us that the ethical is advanced by combatting the cosmical process. Combatting the cosmical process is simply the primary stage of the conversion of the physical into an instrument and means for the expression of the ethical. Combatting the cosmical for the advancement of the ethical is not strictly true even in part. The cosmical is not a hindrance to the progress of the ethical, much less is it a bar to that progress; it is the means and instrument by which the distinctively human comes to clear self-consciousness, by which the reason is stimulated and developed, by which the moral nature is awakened, by which the will acquires supreme force for the man. It becomes even more; it becomes a means for the revelation and communion of God with man. As a being between two worlds, to both of which he is intimately allied, the material universe on the one side and the heavenly on the other, man stands. And it is through activity in relation to both that he becomes more

more the man. The physical reaches its highest end through a process of ethical sublimation, as seen in the part the spiritual and natural plays in religion and morals, in science and art, and in all the outward forms in which the barbaric and most highly civilized life expresses itself. Natural laws are nature's vehicles for the operation of spirit; and spirit is ennobled by its power of self-determination in accordance with the truth. We are not living in the age of the reign of physical law, nor in the reign of moral law,—considered as moral necessity,—but in the age of the self-determination of spirit in fulfillment of law. The spirit makes natural law co-operate with natural law, and produces results which nature, apart from spirit, knows nothing. These results, whatever form they take, find their meaning and end ultimately in the ethical and religious. While physical conditions affect and modify the body of man, they also through that affect and modify in a measure his mind, yet the progress and retrogression of man are so independent of physical conditions that he grows and thrives, degenerates and declines, while outwardly the world remains unchanged. On the other hand, given a permanent environment, with no outward agency to destroy them, and the plant and animal continue their existence, neither retrograding nor advancing, at least so far as history holds any record. The lion, the tiger, the horse and numerous other animals known to us, have reached their final type, and are what they have been through indefinite centuries. The human world how different! Persia, Assyria, Egypt, Palestine are, so far as soil, climate and natural resources go, the same that they were when thronged with populous cities and ruled over by high intelligence, courage and faith. Heights of splendid achievement in art, in science, in philosophy, in religion, have been attained; then, though no adequate cause can be found in the physical life of the people, while the lands they inhabit remain as well adapted to human life as ever before, suddenly there comes a change: over the vision there comes a darkness; the hand loses its cunning; the tongue its power of speech; faith changes to superstition; dominion over nature

ceases. Instead of being lord over himself and lord over the world beneath him, man sinks more and more to a level with the brute, coming more and more under the dominion of the physical. So repeated and so general has been this degeneracy that the scientist is compelled to confess, that there is not on the face of the earth to-day a nation or tribe which, with any degree of certainty, can be regarded as setting forth before us a true example of primitive man.* When we inquire the causes, we are quickly brought to see that they are pre-eminently moral and intellectual. Man has ceased to obey the truth; he has ceased to obey the law of his spiritual life; he has yielded his will to the dominion of his sensuous nature; his retrogression is the consequence of transgression.

"Bear witness, Greece, thy living page!
Attest it many a deathless age!
While kings, in dusty darkness hid,
Have left a nameless pyramid,
Thy heroes, though the general doom
Hath swept the column from the tomb,
A mightier monument command,
The mountains of their native land!
There points thy Muse to stranger's eye
The graves of those that cannot die!
'Twere long to tell, and sad to trace,
Each step from splendor to disgrace;
Enough—no foreign foe could quell
Thy soul, till from itself it fell;
Yes! self-abasement forced the way
To villain-bonds and despot sway."

And these words spoken of Greece are, so far as we have any knowledge, true of all other nations. The prophet's word of warning to Israel is written deep in the moral and spiritual life

* Mr. Herbert Spencer warns us "that we are not permitted to assume that in modern savage races we see beings very like the primitive men, because there are reasons for suspecting that men of the lowest types now known . . . do not exemplify men as they originally were. Probably most of them had ancestors in higher states."—"Principles of Sociology," Vol. I., p. 93; quoted by Dr. Kellogg in "The Genesis and Growth of Religion," pp. 49, 50.

of mankind ; and our Saviour reiterated that same warning when he said : " Man cannot live by bread alone." Let him seek to live by bread alone, and that moment, intellectually and spiritually, he begins to perish. For the support of his true life he needs to be nourished by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God. Only when he lives by that word does power come to him to rise above the law of physical necessity ; to subdue the world to truly human ends ; to transform his environments into an instrument of ministration to his highest needs, and not be degraded to the level of the environments with which the physical process surrounds him. Let him seek to live by bread alone, and to that extent the laws of animal life become more and more dominant in him ; he becomes more dependent upon causes acting upon him from without ; he is directed more and more by instinct and brutish impulse ; he becomes simply a portion of the cosmical process, and this process is powerless to lift him above itself.

There is in man, of his very constitution, an element differing in nature and form of manifestation from that revealed in any other creature—the spiritual. While not free from the law of the physical, he yet shows a power of self-direction, of choice, which places his life upon a wholly different plane from that held by the animal. He moves in the sphere of freedom ; the brute, in that of necessity. He is, in a large measure, his own cause ; the brute is throughout the effect of causes. His world is the inaudible, intangible, viewless world of truth, beauty, harmony ; that of the brute, the sensuous and material. He lives by that and for that which has no reality for lower forms of life ; and living by that and for that which has no reality for lower forms of life, he rises just in the degree that he brings into subordination to himself the very forces in utter submission to which the animal lives, and in defiance of which it always perishes. It is in the spiritual constitution of man that the explanation is to be sought of the deepest phenomena of his varied and wonderful life.

In considering the distinction between the physical and the

ethical, the contrast must be drawn between the highest and most complete form which the ethical assumes, and the most fully expressed form of the physical. The point of contrast is not between the lowest type of human life and the highest type of animal life, but between the highest expression of the human and the highest expression of the animal; not between the Kafir and the baboon, but between the representative or typical man and the representative or typical animal. The lines of divergence may in the beginning run so close as to confuse the judgment, yet the angle of divergence, so plainly apparent as the lines are extended, is no greater in the end than in the beginning. The resemblance between the man and the animal seems to increase the farther we descend into barbaric life; yet the essential distinction is no less between the Kafir and the baboon than between the highest exponent of the most civilized nation and the most completely developed animal. It is always man and the animal, though it is not until we ascend to the height of the grand representative men of the world's most advanced civilization, and finally stand reverently before the divine-human Christ, the Saviour and Lord of the world, that the mighty gap between man and all other created beings is fully seen.

In view of this radical distinction between the physical and the ethical, in what sense, we inquire, can the term evolution be applied to ethics? Mr. Huxley has no doubt that the moral sentiments originated in the same way as other natural phenomena by a process of evolution, but confesses frankly, that no "discovery of how the good and evil tendencies came about is competent to furnish us any better reason why what we call good is preferable to what we call evil than we had before."* There is then a power or faculty possessed by man, enabling him to distinguish good from evil, whose origin this able scientist does not believe investigation can ever discover. But once the moral elements in man's nature have been thus evolved, Mr. Huxley tells us, "the ethical progress of society," and of necessity that of the individual too, "depended not in imita-

*"Evolution and Ethics," by Thomas H. Huxley, p. 33.

ting the cosmical process, still less in running away from it, but in combatting it." With the birth of the ethical, cosmical evolution, as a process of human advancement, ceased. From that time man entered upon a new phase of existence, and his progress was made under conditions the very reverse of those to which he owed his moral life. That is without question a paradox not readily explained.* However faint may have been the conception of primitive man of right and wrong, it is evident that in some degree this antagonism began with that incipient perception. Whether by slow degrees, or rapidly, the time came when the first man knew good from evil, and felt the obligation to do the one and avoid the other. His knowledge

* There is wide divergence of opinion amongst evolutionists with reference to the origin of man. Alfred Russell Wallace, one of the foremost, who shares with Mr. Darwin the origination of the theory of the origin of species by natural selection, says:

"I fully accept Mr. Darwin's conclusions as to the essential identity of man's bodily structure with that of the higher mammalia, and his descent from some form common to man and the anthropoid. The evidence of such descent appears to me to be overwhelming and conclusive. . . . But this is only the beginning of Mr. Darwin's work. . . . His whole argument tends to the conclusion that man's entire nature and all his faculties, whether moral, intellectual, or spiritual, have been derived from their rudiments in the lower animals, in the same manner, and by the action of the same general laws, as his physical nature has been derived. *This conclusion appears to me not to be supported by adequate evidence, and to be directly opposed to many well-ascertained facts.* . . . To prove continuity and the progressive development of the intellectual and moral faculties from animals to man, is not the same as proving that these faculties have been developed by natural selection. . . . Because man's physical structure has been developed from an animal form by natural selection, it does not necessarily follow that his mental nature, even though developed *pari passu* with it, has been developed by the same causes only." "Darwinism," pp. 461, 463. "These special faculties . . . clearly point to the existence in man of something which he has not derived from his animal progenitors—something which we may best refer to as being of a spiritual essence or nature. . . . These faculties could not possibly have been developed by means of the same laws which have determined the progressive development of the organic world in general, and also of man's physical organism." *Ib.*, pp. 474, 475. He further maintains that these faculties "point clearly to an unseen universe—to a world of spirit to which the world of matter is altogether subordinate." *Ib.*, p. 476.

of right and wrong, his conception of the meaning and applicability of the moral law, his sense of obligation, his power of execution, then advanced according to the norm of the ethical, and not according to the norm of the cosmical. In forming an opinion of the applicability of the term evolution, or of any of the laws or principles or words characteristic of evolution, this distinction must be observed.

However physical nature may serve to illustrate the spiritual, however closely the two may be involved, they nevertheless represent two orders of creation, whose forms of manifestation, whose essential qualities, whose purposes are radically distinct. This distinction runs through the height and depth of each, however co-working, nowhere crossing. To apply the laws and principles manifested in the one to the other, is to lose sight of this distinction. And when the laws governing the lower, and the names characterizing the method of creation, revealed in the lower are applied to the higher, there must follow a leveling of the higher to the plane of the lower.

That physical nature is a parable of the spiritual, and in the Scriptures is everywhere so used, we have no desire to question. That all words may in their origin, as Höffding, Porter and others admit, have had a sensuous meaning, may also be true; but in the degree that words describing the forms and modes of operation of the physical are used to illustrate and expound the spiritual they undergo a sublimation, and come to have a new and distinct signification, characteristic of that higher sphere to which they are transferred. So we are told to "grow in grace;" but this growth is unlike the increase in size, change of shape, and unfolding of new features shown by the plant and animal; and so far as spiritual growth is reflected in physical nature it is a material symbolism of a distinctly spiritual fact, to which the physical and the forms and processes of the physical bear no essential resemblance. So we cannot take the word "evolution," the shibboleth of the materialistic school of philosophy, and apply it to the spiritual life without

giving the word a newer and higher meaning. The failure to do this results in the leveling of the spiritual to the plain of the earthly.

One of the most notable efforts of this kind is given us in Dr. Drummond's famous "Natural Law in the Spiritual World." "The position we have been led to take up," this writer informs us, "is not that the Spiritual Laws are analogous to the Natural Laws, but that *they are the same laws.*" The italics are his own. "It is not a question of analogy, but of identity." Again: "The Natural Laws, as the Law of Continuity might well warn us, do not stop with the visible, and then give place to a new set of laws bearing a strong similitude to them. The laws of the invisible are the same laws, projections of the natural, not supernatural." Again: "And if the analogies of Natural Law can be extended to the spiritual world, that whole region at once falls within the domain of science and secures a basis as well as an illumination in the constitution and course of Nature."

Resting on these general principles, undoubtedly containing elements of truth, Dr. Drummond begins, and using definitions and in some places the phraseology of the materialistic school of evolution for his guide and support, proceeds. The result is an unmistakable weaving into spiritual conceptions, not the general ideas of order, sequence and relation merely, but conceptions of materialistic relations and processes. The tendency of this is not to give us a more correct view of the future world, but to make that world, on a higher plane, simply a kind of second earth.

Another effort in this field, though in an entirely different direction, is Dr. Lyman Abbott's "Evolution of Christianity." Basing himself on Professor Le Conte's definition of evolution as a "continuous progressive change, according to certain laws, and by means of resident forces," and Prof. Max Muller's definition of religion as consisting in "the perception of the Infinite under such manifestations as are able to influence the moral character of man," he goes forward. Great emphasis is

necessarily laid on the immanence of God in the unfolding of His purpose,—so great that the transcendence of God is largely thrown into the back ground. The Saviour is represented as being the product of the resident forces in humanity, and as a consequence His unique character as the Son of God is lost sight of, and He is degraded to the position of something a little better than the world's greatest teacher. As Dr. Abbott clings very closely to the materialistic view of the origin of man, it necessarily follows that he abandons the belief in the fall of man, and inclines strongly to that view of sin which makes it coincident with incomplete development. There is, therefore, no place in this work for the atonement; and spiritual regeneration is largely, if not wholly, of an ethical character; and progress the result of a further evolution along the lines of truth upon which it has been placed by Jesus, the Lord. One feels, on concluding the volume, as if little was left of that which is distinctively Christian. It is impossible to conceive how any other result could have been reached on the basis of the definitions from which Dr. Abbott makes his start.

It is, however, not only of importance for us, in considering the principles and facts of evolution, to draw clearly the line of distinction between the physical and spiritual orders of existence, but also to consider the relative worth of the principles and facts of these two orders.

In determining the value of all evidences of the nature of human progress, ethical truths must be rated not only at as high a degree of worth as truths derived from the study of the physical and material world, but much higher, inasmuch as they are the most real and the most important. There are two orders of laws; there are two orders of facts; there are two orders of truth;—those of the physical and material nature, and those of the ethical nature. The laws, the truths, the facts of the physical are reached through the direct testimony of the senses; the laws, the truths, the facts of the ethical, through the testimony of the spirit of man in communion with the spir-

itual world. Man stands between two worlds, the earthly and the heavenly; his mind opens upwards and downwards. To him the material world that can be seen, heard, handled, tasted, smelled, is a veritable fact; but to him also the world of morals that cannot be seen, heard, handled, tasted or smelled is also a veritable fact. He knows with certainty that he is under the law of the physical and material; but he knows also that he is under the law of the ethical and spiritual. He can neither deny the one nor the other. He can, however, bring himself into subjugation to the one, to the overthrow of the rightful authority of the other. He can deny the ethical and accept the rule of the physical; if so, he becomes bestial. He can subordinate the physical to the authority of the ethical; if so, he grows in the power and majesty of manhood. The testimony of his own individual experience, the testimony of his own times, the testimony of history, witness to the reality of the ethical in the outward and inward prosperity which its rightful recognition brings. History is the testimony of the ages to the reality of the intangible, invisible, inaudible facts, principles and truths of the moral and spiritual world. If these were not real, man would neither rise by obedience to them nor fall by disregarding them. The authority of the ethical and spiritual can be neither gainsaid nor questioned.

Now what does the ethical nature of man affirm? Does it affirm the reality of that only which is not contradicted by the cosmical? Does it hold its affirmations of the reality and worth of any truth or principle subject to the confirmation of the cosmical? Or, does it affirm to be real and true and binding that which rests upon its own testimony, and upon the testimony of what is in essence akin to itself—the testimony of God to man? Certainly upon the latter. There is no fact or principle of the ethical life which is not in appearance opposed and contradicted by the material and physical. In matter man cannot discover spirit; in living breathing forms he sees no shaping and sustaining hand; an inviolable law brings to birth and brings to death. Yet he affirms that God is. The material world opens itself

before him in a series of unfoldments to which he can discover neither beginning nor end; it declares itself eternal. Yet on the basis of faith in God the moral reason refuses to accept the testimony of the physical, and declares that in the beginning God created all things, and that He will finally judge all things. No rule of right and wrong, no precept of the moral law holds good when applied to the vegetable or animal. The waves know no rights of property, no sanctity of life. Earthquake, cyclone, fire stand not upon questions of equity and justice; they show no mercy; they have no pity. Yet in this world whose ruling forces, whose countless forms of existences bear no witness to the reality of right, and bear no witness to the reality of wrong, man stands and affirms himself amenable to the moral law. Can there be a fact more unquestionable than the fact of death? What is there that endures? All things perish. There is the scent of death in the fragrance of the flower. We hear a requiem in the wind that sweeps through the netted branches of the forest tree. The shadow of the tomb lies upon the cradle. The pallor of the old man's cheek shows the chill of the coming night. Daily the funeral winds its sorrowful way through our streets. The hill-side is white with sepulchres. Yet in the face of this indisputable fact man stands and affirms that death is not the end of life. Pestilence may sweep away its myriads, and famine devastate whole nations, and battle redden the fields with slaughter;—it matters not. In the face of the fact that the world is one great charnel-house, that the earth everywhere tells of death and nowhere gives sensible token of a future life man affirms that his life does not end when the earthly frame-work of his body perishes; he waives aside the terrible testimony of physical nature and declares himself immortal. Along whatever lines of the moral and spiritual we go, this strange contradiction is found; and the more rigidly the reason seeks along the line of the empirical to find satisfactory explanation the wider the chasm grows. Physical nature, considered simply as a combination of material forces which make themselves known in phenomena perceived by the senses, can give no

answer but one that contradicts the holiest aspirations and profoundest needs of man.*

It is necessary for us, however, to look still deeper into the nature of testimony before we can give our judgment of the worth of the evidences furnished us by materialism. The reason is confronted with an order of facts and principles borne witness to by the sensible, material universe. But the reason does not receive an impress from the material world as a tablet from a pen; neither does it reflect in consciousness an image of the physical world. By a power distinctly its own, and in accordance with its own inherent nature, it translates the impressions received from the material world into perceptions, which are in turn combined in conceptions, on the basis of which it builds up its systems. It is by this inward power that every science is formed; and science, as the systematic apprehension of the relation of facts, and the laws governing them, partakes of the character of a mental creation. The reason thus becomes the final testimony in consciousness of the form and order and nature of the physical universe. Though there is a real adaptability of the reason to apprehend the world without as it is, yet it is the conception formed by the reason which man accepts as the true world for him.†

* "So long as we confine ourselves to the material we are on safe ground, and so long as we confine ourselves to the mental we are on safe ground; but any attempt to represent a transition from physical to psychological laws, or conversely, brings us face to face with the inconceivable." *Outlines of Psychology*, by Harold Höffding, p. 56. "Concerning the inner relation between mind and matter, we teach nothing; we suppose only that one being works in both. But what kind of being is this? Why has he a double form of manifestation? Why does not one form suffice? These are questions which lie beyond the realm of our knowledge. Mind and matter appear to us an irreducible duality, just as subject and object." *Ib.*, p. 67.

† In discussing the relation of minds to other things, Mr. William James, Professor of Psychology in Harvard University, affirms: "*It is a thorough-going dualism. It (psychology) supposes two elements, mind knowing and thing known, and treats them as irreducible. Neither gets out of itself or into the other; neither in any way is the other, neither makes the other. They just stand face to face in a common world, and one simply knows, or is known unto its counterpart. This singular relation is not expressed in any lower terms,*

The mind is, however, confronted by a second order of facts and principles, which are not directly borne witness to by the sensible, material universe. This second order of facts and principles is immaterial and super-sensuous, not holding in the world of material phenomena, nor resting for final verification on its testimony. To this order belong the great ethical and spiritual facts and principles—God, responsibility to God, holiness, righteousness, justice, faith, hope, love and their opposites—sin, disobedience, injustice, unbelief, despair, hatred. These are eternal, veritable principles and facts, more real and more firmly established than any of the facts and principles which man sensibly apprehends. These eternal facts and principles are not manifested to the senses. They are not even primarily accepted on the basis of the reason. They are affirmations of or translated into any more intelligible name. Some sort of signal must be given by the thing to the mind's brain, or the knowing will not occur. We find, as a matter of fact, that the mere existence of a thing outside the brain is not sufficient cause for our knowing it; it must strike the brain in some way as well as be there, to be known. But the brain being struck, the knowledge is constituted by a new construction that occurs in the mind." "Psychology," Vol. I, p. 219.


"There is no alternative but to affirm that to perceive the universe we must construct it in thought, and that our knowledge of the universe is but the mind's inner nature. . . . By describing the mind as a waxen tablet, and things as impressing themselves upon it, we seem to get great insight until we think to ask where this extended tablet is, and how things stamp themselves on it, and how the perceptive act would be explained even if they did. . . . All talk of pictures, impressions, etc., ceases because of the lack of all the conditions to give such figures any meaning. . . . Nervous signs are the raw material of all knowledge of the outer world according to the most decided realism. But in order to pass beyond these signs into a knowledge of the outer world, we must provide an interpreter who shall read back these signs into their objective meaning. But that interpreter again must implicitly contain the meaning of the universe within itself; and these signs are but excitations which cause the soul to unfold what is within itself. Inasmuch as by common consent the soul communicates with the outer world, and never comes nearer to the object than such signs can bring it, it follows that the principles of interpretation must be in the mind itself, and that the resulting construction is primarily only an expression of the mind's own nature." B. P. Browne, *Metaphysics*, pp. 407-10, quoted by Prof. James, "Psychology," Vol. I, pp. 220-1.

moral and spiritual nature, which assert themselves within soul and compel acknowledgment. Obedience to their law is a fundamental need of the man, the highest and deepest need. This obligation he cannot deny. The ethics evidencing itself in the life of humanity, is a testimony without him of the truth of the moral which he sees within

Unfulfilled, his whole life shrinks, and his joys are dissipated. Denied, he falls from his better self and becomes brutish. Confusion and madness come upon him. More and more man recognizes that his true life is ethical and religious. He recognizes that in this direction the demands of his own nature are imperious; that he violates these demands at his peril; that he fulfills them to his own highest good. Yet, furthermore, in a mysterious way the physical world is so linked with the moral that when he rises, it rises also; and when he falls, it falls also. As exemplified in art, in manufacture, in agriculture, in horticulture, in the training of animals, that which in nature is highest and best only comes to light through the dominion of the moral.

Let him abandon the horse, and if it does not perish it degenerates, loses its speed, power, beauty, sagacity. So also when he abandons the fruit, the grain, the tree, the flower, they degenerate, become wild, insipid, valueless. That with the advent of the moral, religious and moral life there should be a wondrous unfolding of the multiplied forces and beauties of the physical, is a direct result from the inherent relation of man to his world. In the highest civilization the physical universe ascends, coming under the rule of the spiritual, which, with ever-increasing clearness, is made to express. With the decline of the moral and intellectual, the wild, chaotic forces are released from their rightful subordination, and, powerless to maintain himself, man sinks into submission to them. The savage and the wilderness are always linked together; and no matter to what heights of moral and intellectual sublimity the man ascends, with the decline of the moral and intellectual the wilderness returns: and the intellectual always declines when the moral gives way. Coming, now, to the position that the reason is the witness

in consciousness of reality, whether that reality meets man's need for systematic apprehension of the material universe, or meets the deeper and stronger need that is felt for the fulfillment of the moral, which of these two circles of truth is to be for him of supreme importance? Is he to accept the testimony of his own mind to the principles and facts of the material, and not accept the testimony of his own spirit to the principles and facts of the ethical and religious? Man has made answer by refusing to accept the testimony of the physical and material, when such testimony contradicts the deep-seated and imperious affirmations of its moral and religious nature. For him those affirmations have had the most intense reality. For him they have held the throne of supreme authority. So, in opposition to the testimony of the physical universe, which gives no sensible token of God, of right and wrong, of holiness and sin, of judgment and a life to come, he stands and affirms their absolute truth. His conception of these great facts and principles, though modified to some extent by the study of the natural world, remains intrinsically unchanged. The conception of God which has evidenced itself to heart and mind as true through thought and revelation, refuses to be changed by any of the results of science. No uncovering of the processes of nature, of the seemingly inviolable law by which it is what it is, has altered his profound belief in God's providence. No statements of the evolutionist have dimmed the sense of responsibility to Him, or taken the sting out of sin, or dethroned right or enthroned wrong. These conceptions of the moral reason remain what they were, and must so remain so long as reason is true to itself. When it denies the reality of the principles of its deeper life, and accepts only the testimony of the sensibly manifest, then truly the moral will cease to have authority. Then the whole order of social life will become in the present, as over and over again in the past, the open testimony of the wrong that has been done; and a fall will ensue the like of which the world, so far as history records, has never seen before. No conception of cause and effect, as obtained by the study of



the material and sensuous; no facts, however sustained by evidences of empirical science, can overthrow the grand fundamentals of ethics and religion, for they are based on facts also—facts which reveal in man that which distinctly marks him as man—facts which are the revelation of that which is the root and blossom of his highest welfare and happiness.

The question arises, Can the results of materialistic science and ethical science be harmoniously adjusted? When the question is examined closely, it resolves itself into the same question of the relation of the physical to the moral which the pagan philosophers of classic times abandoned. They, too, conceived of a process of evolution as an explanation of the universe, seeking in that process the solution of the problem of life. It must be remembered that for the conception of this principle and its true philosophical investigation, the vast array of facts presented by modern science is by no means necessary. The survey of the common facts at hand in the environment of the average human life are enough to suggest the theory. Once the theory has been formed, the problem is before the philosopher and he can investigate it, metaphysically, in all its bearings. So true is this, that it is not improbable that Christian philosophy has already anticipated all the questions with which evolution may confront it. As yet, some of its most devoted expounders content themselves with speaking of it, not as a law, but as a theory; while others go so far as to tell us that evolution is still on trial. Even if new problems arise in the future, there can be no adjustment which denies the fundamental principles of ethics. There can be no adjustment which makes the physical and material the standard of measurement of the spiritual and ethical. While the two are most intimately related, and mutually condition each other, yet the ethical is the expression of a force without parallel in the physical; for spirit is *sui generis*.

In contemplating the world of material phenomena in its strictly spacial forms and relations, the reason is confronted by an endless series of effects and causes, in which, however far

into the remote past it goes, it never finds the first cause. Reason must take its departure from the affirmation of a first cause. Yet limiting itself strictly to the testimony of sensuous experience, even assuming a first cause, the reason never mounts into the sphere of the spiritual and attains a conception of God. Even when to the affirmation of a first cause the predicates of power and wisdom, so far as they are displayed in adjustment to a definite end, are added, reason is still unable to rise logically to the conception of God. It is only when the conceptions of the strictly scientific reason is reinforced from the side of the ethical, that reason mounts to the throne of Him from whom all things proceed. Even this does not round out the picture; it needs also the æsthetical for completeness. The conception of the personal God is the outcome of the personal in man in its entirety, and this conception is partial and broken in the degree that any element of personality is inactive in its formation. One follows M. Janet with ever-increasing interest as he traces out the indubitable evidences of cause and effect as indicative of design, only, however, to find in the end an impassable gulf between the world and God, which he can cross only on the basis of the affirmation of the moral reason. The reason has never, either in antiquity or modern times, been able to get beyond the declaration of the Scriptures: "By faith we know that the worlds were made by the word of God, so that things which are seen were not made of things which do appear." Every attempt at purely intellectual demonstration has resulted in some form of dualism between God and matter, or in some form of pantheism,—conclusions which Christian philosophy has unfailingly rejected as directly contradicting, not simply the word of the Scriptures, but its deepest intentions of truth and its most satisfactory reasons.

It has been claimed that in this the science of the physical finds a stronger and more staple ground than ethics and theology, inasmuch as it can fall back upon sensible testimony for verification. But all knowledge of the material world, as well as all knowledge of the spiritual, is gained on the basis of certain

primary intuitions, which, however verified by experiences, are in their origin undemonstrable by material science, or by the most abstract metaphysics, or by the two combined. How the mind arrives at the intuition of cause, of identity, of time and of space has never been explained. Whether the subject be approached from the side of sensuous experience, or from that of physiological psychology or spiritual psychology, every attempt to explain how these intuitions have been arrived at has proved a total failure. They are affirmations of the reason, unproved and unprovable, except that in the use of them they everywhere meet the needs of thought; and they so meet the needs of thought that without them thinking is impossible. It is undoubtedly true, as Dr. Harris states in his "*Philosophic Basis of Theism*," that not only morals and religion, but also all the physical sciences, come ultimately to ground themselves on faith.

Modern materialism does not get beyond these difficulties, and cannot get beyond them. It simply assumes a beginning wholly involved in the physical. There is a force in matter which evolves the world. For Mr. Spencer this material force is the source of all things. It is impersonal, it moves without thought, without design, and ultimately evolves that which is personal, which thinks and which designs. Mr. Spencer does not get beyond God; he simply links Him, or identifies Him, with physical nature, and gives Him a new name; he calls Him "Power." His god is blind and deaf and dumb, unconscious, unreasoning, yet fatal in his movements. To imagine for one moment that human reason will ever be content to rest on such an assumption is absurd. With certainty, thought will be driven from the physical to the metaphysical, from the study of the phenomena of the material and sensuous to the consideration of the spiritual and super-sensuous, from the study of the world to the study of God; and with almost fatal certainty by its conception of God it will determine its view of the world. It will be compelled to do so if it hopes to be consistent.

So, however modified may be our views of God's method of

creating, sustaining and developing manhood, all conceptions formed on the basis of the physical process must ultimately be brought into subordination to those conceptions of right and wrong which the moral reason demands. Human responsibility, sin, guilt, righteousness, faith, hope, charity, and the more specific principles of the moral life will remain, bearing testimony of their reality in consciousness largely, if not wholly, independent of the declarations of science. They are too profoundly real, they are too thoroughly supported by reason, too well confirmed by the Scriptures to be essentially modified. As no discoveries of science in the past have in any manner changed the faith of the Christian philosopher, there is no reason for fearing that it can be done in the future. As in the past the conclusions of science have been adjudged from the throne of the ethical and religious, so evolution must come to the throne of the ethical and religious for final adjudication.

It is not simply that science must be judged from the throne of the moral; all true thinking is only made possible on the basis of belief in God. So fundamental is this premise to thought that every science lacks beginning, coherence and definite end apart from it. And any attempt to bring into unity the divergent elements of thought cannot but fail if they are viewed as things apart in themselves, having no inherent relation to one another in the purpose of an absolutely wise, powerful and holy being. Much more, when we turn to study the essential elements of human nature and the principles on which the social fabric rests, will it be found that they lose all true meaning if disjointed from faith in God as their source and end. It is as utterly vain to attempt to think consistently on any other basis with reference to motives and ends of conduct, as it would be useless for the scientist to attempt to construct a system of thought while denying the reality and worth of the great primary intuitions of the reason. As all human learning comes eventually to have an ethical relation, it cannot be otherwise than that faith in God is fundamental to all right thinking, no matter in what sphere it moves nor what direction it takes.

One need only turn to the pages of Mr. Spencer's "Data of Ethics" and read over his analysis of the virtues to find that, when he has completed his effort to give them their place in his scheme, they have lost every essential element of goodness and have been degraded to merely temporary expedients. As our Lord is the revelation of God to the world, it follows, then, that every science, every principle of truth must come finally to His throne for judgment.

V.

THE SCIENTIFIC METHOD.

BY PROF. C. W. R. CRUM, COLLEGEVILLE, PA.

[Address delivered April 4, 1894.]

ABOUT a decade ago a statue of Sir Edward Jenner in Trafalgar Square, London, was to be taken down, and that of some petty naval hero of Britain put in its place. Thus, in less than a century after a man's great work would short-sighted policy eclipse the honor due his memory. Jenner showed himself a man of modest, patient, scientific perseverance. Quiet in manner, and rural in tastes, he was not a man to push his way in the world. Vaccination, the fruit of his labor, has been a priceless boon to humanity. Cultured men have maligned his name and work; but exact science and unprejudiced truth have forever set at rest the question of the high character of the work, and the no less high character of the man.

Previous to Jenner's time, almost every one had small-pox some time in his life. So universally prevalent was this disease, that it has been said, that, if some ancient citizen of the last century should rise up in modern London, the comforts and conveniences, with all the customs and manners of the present age, would not afford a more striking contrast with his own day, than the absence of faces marked by small-pox.

Jenner had noticed as early as 1775 that dairymen, who had contracted cow-pox, the vaccine disease, did not take small-pox. After twenty years of careful and repeated observation, he became convinced that vaccination would prevent, or, at least, favorably modify the course of small-pox.

Eminent men discouraged him, and some opposed him so

bitterly that it was the beginning of the present century before the practice of vaccination was fairly begun. Then it quickly spread over Europe. Jenner was hailed as a deliverer. On the continent of Europe his birthday was celebrated as a day of rejoicing. Spain sent out an expedition to carry vaccination to her colonies. Later on Napoleon granted to the name of Jenner what he had refused to other Englishmen, the release of his countrymen. It is a shame for England that she has allowed jealousy and indifference, if not ingratitude, to deprive this great man of his just income during life, and his proper honor after death.

Upward of a quarter of a century ago, a scientist of France from the recesses of his laboratory enunciated a new theory. "Fermentation," said he, "according to the old theory, is a process correlative with death, and depends on decay of albuminous matter; according to the new one, it is correlative with life, that is, the active growth and development of fungous vegetation. The yeast globules are actual living vegetable cells capable of producing the transformation of sugar."

This announcement declared a revolution. The same French scientist soon devised means for destroying the fungous vegetation, called yeast; and fermentation could thus be checked in any stage. Wines and champagnes could be prevented from souring, and enormous sums of money were saved to the wine-making districts.

This was but a beginning. It was easily perceived that there was an analogy between the phenomena of fermentation and those of infectious diseases. Examination of the blood of animals suffering from splenic fever revealed the presence there of rod-like bodies, micro-organisms, called bacteria. The energetic brain and watchful eye of this same scientist now considered closely the changes of these micro-organisms. These rod-like bodies were seen to break up into beads. These latter proved to be germs, seed as it were, for new rods. Growing these germs in proper culture fluid, they became bacteria again; and animals poisoned with this fluid developed splenic fever. Here,

then, he held the disease in a little fluid in a test tube. Here were a few drops from Pandora's box held under cover of a plug of cotton.

Thousands of cattle were dying in Europe in each epidemic of this disease. Men were affected too; some died, and others suffered grievous crops of boils. Now in the light of Jenner's work, cow-pox, the vaccine disease, is nothing more than attenuated small-pox. The same laboratory, or rather the same active mind and hand that worked there, succeeded in weakening the virulence of splenic fever germs, and with these weakened germs a mild form of that disease could be made to supersede the regular epidemic. Thus a great plague was stayed, and almost stamped out, just as small-pox had been.

It was noticed, however, that a middle field was necessary for the growth of the bead-like germs into bacteria between the successive epidemics of this disease. Strange to say, the common earth-worm was found to be the culture medium. In the bodies of these earth-worms,—the fish baits of our boyhood,—these germs developed, were cast out into the dust, and, years after, on the same pasture land, another epidemic of splenic fever prevailed.

This disease was one of the plagues of Pharoah. In the third verse of the ninth chapter of Exodus, a grievous murrain is threatened to the cattle of Egypt. It came, and all the cattle of the Egyptians died. There is every evidence that this murrain was splenic fever. Later on again, Moses and Aaron scattered upon the winds the dust of the field, and "it became a boil upon man and upon beast." The earth-worm, meanwhile, had multiplied the germs into myriads.

Truly the labor of this nineteenth century scientist has borne fruit. Thousands of cattle and sheep are now saved to Europe annually. Mankind is saved from suffering and death.

Now in the year 1865 alone, the disease of the silk-worm, known as Pebrine, caused a loss to the silk industry of France of twenty millions of dollars. The same laboratory, the same mind was at work again and came out victorious. The parasite

ilk-worm could be stamped out. The looms of France were again set in motion. As to the money value of every, Tyndall estimated that the saving to the silk of France from 1872 to 1882 would, in large measure, be the Franco-Prussian War indemnity.

An estimate of the money value of a scientific discovery creates a deeper impression upon us than the saving of human life. The example of such men, watching and weighing, toiling more than we appreciate, to save wearing, even more, to bring salvation to the race from physical ailment.

It has long been a problem to my mind, if, in the divine plan of deliverance from physical labor could be included. In the curse came the physical condemnation that "in the sweat of the brow should man eat bread," so, in the spread

of light and salvation from the great central Life and death, there should not be worked out in labor-saving machinery, but a final salvation from exhausting work, leaving for the creative power only to employ the material forces as his tools by them and with them to serve humanity and the world more acceptably. Might we dream that, eventually, we should be, with all this, an absolute salvation from physical labor?

Micro-organisms have been found in putrefaction, in suppuration in various diseases. These germs, bacteria and micro-organisms, found swarming everywhere, in water, in air, in all organic matter. From these researches into microbe life come new ideas of disease, new methods of treatment, the antiseptic method of surgery; while sanitation, a comparatively new science, has developed wonderful proportions.

The illustrious Frenchman to whose mind the light of these things was first revealed, is Pasteur—one of the heroes of the age, a more than rival for the German Bismarck. Bismarck and Pasteur have brought salvation and glory to the German Empire. Pasteur has brought physical salvation to French and the world alike, and the glory will not be so much to France or

to Pasteur, but the thanksgiving of a world delivered from its woe will arise up in glory to the Throne of all Grace.

I have cited the life-work of these two men as illustrative of the subject at hand—the Scientific Spirit and Method.

The scientific method is becoming the animus of modern life. It is a method which directs one to prove all things, to discard the evil, to hold fast to the good. From the narrow limits to which the word science is often confined, it is growing as a leaven, it tends to step out into every domain, even into daily life.

Nor does the Scientific Method obtain its place without opposition. Ignorance, that supreme servant of evil, would draw a cloud to hide the fair countenance; envy would besmirch her clean vesture; prejudice, precedent, conservatism, idleness, the spirit which the French call *laissez faire*, all combine against the claims of this new way.

The most essential quality of the Scientific Method is exactness. It means measurements precise, and rules without exception. Its second prominent feature is the right, and, at the same time, the necessity to derive and verify for one's self. It is to seek and to work out one's own salvation without priestly or pedagogic authority excepting that such authority may furnish implements for the labor, and communicate the art of their use, so far as successful in other hands. It is a liberty in which one is called upon to stand fast.

Such are, on the one hand, the general appearance, and, on the other, the very framework of our subject. It would clothe itself with exact truth as with a garment, and its outlines bespeak the individual right of investigation.

The Scientific Method makes use of reasoning both inductive, from facts to principles; and deductive, from principles to facts. Its line of work is as follows: With care to observe what occurs, with honesty to collate and winnow the data, with the aid of constructive imagination to formulate a satisfactory theory, with perseverance to test thoroughly, with humility to receive repeated rebuke for human imperfections, with energy

to renew the work, with faith to maintain the law now rendered extremely probable, in triumph to predict the future.

In the first place, to observe carefully and to test thoroughly require a well-fitted workshop and skilled workmen. Handcraft here plays an important part. Handcraft, too, contributes to proper physical, mental and moral development. Dr. Gilman, in the *Cosmopolitan* for last month, writes: "It may be considered as demonstrated that health and beauty walk hand in hand with skill and strength, while scholarship and learning are not excluded from this vigorous companionship." Trade schools, manual training schools are slowly getting their own, and there is evidence that the preparatory schools of the future will require manual training in some form. But we need more exact work and more exact thought than these afford. The laboratory is refined trade.

Here master workmen weigh to the one-millionth part of a pound, they measure to the five hundred-thousandth of an inch, compute time to the one-thousandth of a second, analyze the sun and stars, calculate distances to millions times millions of miles, number the atoms in a tear drop by the trillions, reckon the forces of a Corliss Engine, of a rushing planet or of a fly's wing, observe microbes how they grow, and discover new worlds of life and activity.

What do men outside of a laboratory know of its workings? Less than nothing. It does not enter into their minds to conceive of its careful, accurate work.

Prolonged accuracy is another expression for difficulty. It is so much easier to sit and theorize over these things. What need has the master mind of man to work out these details, when it may sit as lord and build its own system of creation? This system can perfect itself, and thinks to see itself enthroned in splendor. It wages war on conflicting doctrines. It tries for schism, and passes condemnation. The imagination, the Quixotic in man, is delighted with this play, and wins the fierce contests, charging now an inn, and now a wind-mill, in the vain conceit that they are castles or giants of evil. For our

modern Don Quixotes, giants and castles have arisen in science, impregnable truly to their assaults; but, to enlightened eyes, the fancied giants and castles are plainly useful and hospitable servants. Let us hope that these ambitious relics of chivalrous days gone by may cease their folly of breaking goose-wing lances, and rest from their labors.

Nothing lends conceit so readily as a human doctrine, be it an old woman's maxim or a religious dogma. As Lowell said, "Men approach truth from the circumference, and, acquiring a knowledge at most of one or two points of that circle of which God is the centre, are apt to assume that the fixed point from which it is described is that where they stand."

Men who seek truth in a well-fitted laboratory and by careful experiment, learn how much error and falsehood lie in the human hand or eye, and in the human mind as well. Men who theorize, often cannot see that they are wrong, and sometimes will not see. As George Eliot pictures Causabon, they wander with their "small taper of learned theory amid the tossed ruins of the world," wander, taper in hand, and imagine that, as a sun, they order and illumine the whole.

Not as a master, but as a child, may one seek to learn the hidden secrets of nature. Permit two quotations from able scientists: first, "The humblest man on earth will be found in a physical laboratory;" and secondly, "It is unworthy of an intelligent being to trifle with the works of the Creator. A laboratory of natural history is a sanctuary in which nothing improper should be exhibited." Humility, then, and reverence are the qualities of mind with which a student may approach the sanctuary of truth. Add to these perseverance and faith in the plain evidences of nature. Le Verrier pinned his reputation to his faith when he wrote to the observatory of Berlin to point their telescope to a particular part of the heavens, and that there would be found a new planet; and yet Newton was ready to discard his theory of universal gravitation for twenty years, until more accurate measurements proved his theory a law.

The educational value of the laboratory, as the laboratory

should be, under the direction of a proper scientific spirit, no one can question. Education is character building, development of manhood, of the noblest attributes of manhood. To work, to serve if you please, is the highest office and the greatest freedom. Education is not forced memory-cram. It is awakened interest, if not enthusiasm; in the end, it is philanthropy.

The wonderful economy in the natural world teaches prudence; it teaches to give and take, to press and to yield. The all-pervading law of transformation and conservation of energy is a lecture on social economy and finance, and innumerable topics besides. You know the laity sometimes think that theological men should have a few lectures on finance.

To interpret the result of observation calls for an honest brain. Figures sometimes lie, statistics often lie, and statistics are very often made to lie. An honest man does honest work, and attains trustworthy results; and yet, withal, for the reason that he is honest, he shall ever hold the work of his hands, the work of his reason, the work of his imagination, all subject to human imperfection, short-sightedness, a certain degree of error which he may never hope to overcome entirely, but which he may lessen as he approaches nearer and nearer to the secrets of the Infinite. This is the humility of a scientific spirit. It is neither groveling, uncertain, nor despairing. It does not crush out courage in any well-founded opinion, but it is fatal to intellectual pride.

Absolute exactness is a thing impossible, a thing unknown and unknowable. This is no reason that faith should accept appearances without testing to the utmost. One may reach results which are exact in so far that the limit and probability of error may be determined. Natural laws know no exceptions. An acceptable theory must therefore explain all known phenomena. But when theory predicts events day after day, year after year, century after century, probability becomes certainty, and theory becomes law.

Laboratory work, as it should be, is not play, and a slight

taste of hard work is not always to be made sweet. An exhibition to dazzle the eyes and delight the sense of the wonderful is not laboratory work. It may give a better conception of what is doing in this way; it may popularize the work, and introduce its claims; but, as an active agency in character building, the laboratory must be given some sway. What would be the value of a course in Latin, consisting of two or three hours a week for one year? A good laboratory course demands time, and its proper equipment requires money; but even with a moderate amount much may be accomplished.

Unfortunately we are asked to teach the sciences from text books alone, and especially in this manner to teach physics, that science which embraces the widest domain, is theoretical, and hard to understand above all other experimental sciences, and yet that which is probably contributing most to the development of modern civilization. To teach physics, or chemistry, or biology from text book alone, may be an exercise to the student's memory; but it is little more. The subject loses its savor and beauty, while the student's ideas even of the simplest phenomena are ill defined and often false. Those high qualities of character, which are to be developed in a hand-to-hand grappling with scientific problems, are not brought out at all; and, still worse, this teaching may produce a very different mental development. If not warned of the danger, the student may accept blindly any opinion on the least show of authority, whilst his mind is apt to grow narrow and prejudiced. Theory becomes dogma, and a clever guess or a half truth is certainty to such a mind. It is willing to follow any arbitrary standard; and yet it rushes to the other extreme, poses for effect, is arrogant and impudent to those who are ignorant, or who dare to doubt. In an incredibly short space of time, it unites intellectual pride, conceit, scorn, and a slavery to the printed page. The dictionary has it so. To be sure, dictionaries are infallible.

It has been affirmed that the most important object of education is independence. As previously intimated, the very outlines of the scientific method bespeak freedom of thought

and action. It was this change in method which marked the rise of modern civilization. The revival of letters, the invention of printing, the discovery of America, the reformation of religion were but the first upheavals due to a powerful force just breaking out from beneath the surface. That force was the growing feeling that the right to know is universal, that each one has a right to try for one's self, to test the truth as it appears to every honest mind. It was a force of mind, the ever-widening force of life, seeking for new fields to conquer.

The Romish Church sought to crush and confine this new energy, which might oppose her indolence and arrogance, and divulge the arcana of her holy decrees. Ever politic, as the flood grew stronger and irrepressible, she attempted to turn aside the stream, to direct it into other channels, to pollute it, to use it for her own purposes. What she could not direct, she sought to persecute out of existence. Thus the Romish Church laid herself liable to the charge that she has been foster-mother of ignorance, one might say of ignorance and of war, the child of ignorance.

So far as education was concerned, the greatest side channel into which this rising current could be diverted was afforded by the study of ancient classics. These literary models furnished a vast field which could be worked over, again and again, with little advance. Books could be made and their writing effaced to make new ones, and the continuous round consumed time, wasted force, and took the place of original research. This suited well the Romish polity; so that Romish schools, and especially the Jesuits, have ever defended and favored "The Humanities." To declaim Latin odes or compose Latin poems made a great display of learning, was least likely to create schism, and did no one harm. Now the Humanities are excellent mental drill; but it is an exercise much of the nature of marking time; there is little forward movement. Investigations, searching out the secrets of the universe of nature, as well as seeking to know the true meaning, religious and social, of divine revelation, in the Word and in the world, were forbidden things.

The flagrant abuses of the Church, and the plain perversion of the Scriptures brought the latter question to an issue, and the Reformation followed. But her policy and prejudices in regard to many social questions, and especially respecting her attitude toward scientific research, and the method which it entails, Rome succeeded in many respects in transferring to the Protestant division of the Church.

Luther declared that the creation was an instantaneous act. "Moses," said he, "spoke properly and plainly and neither allegorically or figuratively." "The world with all its creatures was created in six days." With Luther, Peter Martyr and the Westminster Confession held this belief an essential article of faith. Michael Servetus was burned in Geneva, when perhaps ready to announce to the world the great discovery which, made again three-fourths of a century later, immortalized the name of Harvey. How many poor souls saw their life blood ebb away which might have been stayed had they but had proper knowledge of the circulation of the blood!

Years before that time Roger Bacon pierced the darkness of guessing and groping, as a beam of light. As early as the thirteenth century, he had arraigned the false methods of his time. He recognized the necessity of mathematical exactness, and designated experimental science, "*Domina omnium scientiarum*," the queen of all sciences. He was charged with prosecuting the black art, banished, confined and forbidden to write books.

Giordani Bruno, brilliant and erratic, had proposed in effect the nebular hypothesis. The Inquisition burned him at the stake in Rome in the year 1600, and the theory seemed buried with his ashes.

The next hundred years saw the persecutions of five great scientists—Copernicus, Kepler, Galileo, Des Cartes and Newton. The Inquisition dogged and harassed the first three, Des Cartes feared to publish his researches, and Newton escaped with little more than written abuse. But the end of the century

witnessed their triumph. The relations of the solar system, the motions of the planets, and the laws governing them were questions settled forever.

The long periods of creation, as evidenced by the study of geology, the nebular hypothesis, and the later doctrine of evolution have remained as stumbling blocks to this day. But the time is past when experimental science presents itself as a suppliant for permission to exist. We no longer do penance, fast, and exhort the holy Church to deliver us from an epidemic of typhoid fever; we disinfect refuse and clean sewers, hog pens and wells. Strange to say the modern means are the more effectual, and we thank God that He has revealed to us the way of escape. I believe truly that the spirit which yearns and seeks humbly, honestly and with strength for the truth in all things, whether you call it the scientific spirit or not, is the spirit of light, the spirit of regeneration, the Spirit of Christ. Newton was charged with substituting "Gravitation for Providence;" but a spirit, such as this, in no way detracts from the honor to God, nor from a proper faith in His written Word.

Professor Helmholtz said in a recent lecture, "There has been more accomplished by science during the last two centuries than during the two thousand years previously." While the discoveries in Biology, Geology, Chemistry and Astronomy have added much to the world's knowledge, none have had so great influence upon its life and civilization as the revelations in what is more particularly the domain of Physical Science, and of Physical Art or Technology. We need but instance the three successive ages—the age of mechanical appliances simply, the age of steam, the age of electricity.

America has been lagging behind in the advancement of scientific and technical training. "As a national question," said Professor Thurston, in the opening address of the World's Fair discussion of this subject, "technical education and technological schools constitute for us the most important of all current topics and subjects in connection with educational work

and development in this country." "The magnitude of the demand for technical instruction is greater than is usually supposed, and the real need—which vastly exceeds the demand—is far beyond the ordinary estimates of even the educator engaged in this special work. . . . We have hardly made a beginning in the building of that great system of industrial training, supplementing education, which must, if we are to survive in the industrial rivalry of the nations, soon be made to constitute an important and extensive division of the state and of the national educational structure."

It is stated by Whewell that, "the opening of Greek civilization was marked by the production of geometry, the idea of space brought to a scientific precision; and likewise the opening of modern European civilization was distinguished by the production of a new mathematical science, Mechanics, which soon led to the mechanics of the heavens, and this step, like the former, depended on men arriving at a properly distinct fundamental idea, the idea of force."

Here we notice, that no science becomes exact without a strong framework of Mathematics. To count, and weigh, and measure, and outline accurately is at the basis of all scientific work. Mathematics lends accuracy and points to all knowledge of exterior things from the daily affairs of life to the most difficult problems of Mechanics, Electricity or Thermo-dynamics. The theories of Infinitesimals and Probability have been finger-posts of modern investigation. Mathematics goes immensely further—even to discuss the deepest metaphysical questions, such as limitation and shape of space; it proposes and discusses hyperspace. To use the words of a prominent educator, "When we reflect that hardly any branch of knowledge is so depreciated by the average man as the modern advancement of pure mathematics, we must believe that its influence upon civilization is not sufficiently considered."

What are technical training and scientific discoveries worth to us in a monetary way? The question can hardly be answered.

Their value is so great that one cannot have an adequate notion of it. As for valuable scientific appliances used in the industrial arts, their name is legion. The steam railway and telegraph have given us, as a nation, that backbone which Napoleon said this country would lack as having no great military roads. Immense fortunes, too, are wrapped up in the telephone, steamships, electric lighting and electric railways, with fabulous promises for the future.

Hygiene and sanitation contribute largely to wealth. A healthy man works, while a sick man makes work. It has been estimated that the fearful epidemic of yellow fever, some years ago in Memphis and the Mississippi valley, cost more than the most destructive fire this country has known, the great fire of Chicago.

That is, however, a gross view which reckons only the money value of science. We can always rely on the selfishness of man to make use of all means at hand to gain money, to grasp power over his fellow. The Scientific Method and the results that follow in its wake have a higher course to run. To relieve suffering, to refine and educate mankind, to promote happiness and peace are nobler ends. Sordid motives, ambition for gain and social evils seem ever at hand to take advantage of industrial advance. They tend to trammel and cramp development. Fortunately, too, the Scientific Method is not confining itself to Physics or Chemistry or Biology, and our plea is not for these alone; but the Scientific Method of study goes further, it is now applied to Psychology, even to Philology and Linguistics, to History, to Social Economy, to mankind in all his relations. Let us work and pray that it may lead to light and liberty, liberty as it only can exist, liberty sustained by highest law, the law of man made consonant to the law of Heaven. Then can be realized the idea of Pasteur as stated about a year ago on his seventieth birthday, "Science and Peace may yet triumph over Ignorance and War."

In conclusion I cannot forbear calling attention to some very recent work in Philology which came to my knowledge only

quite recently. Within the past three or four months, as Prof. Bloomfield says, "A literary event of great importance has happened—an event which is certain to stir the world of science and of culture." The Sanscrit Vedas have heretofore been regarded as dating back to a period not more than about 2500 years before Christ. Certain astronomical data contained in the Vedas, have revealed the fact that the Vernal Equinox which is now in Aries, occurred at the time of their composition, as far back as the constellation Orion. According to the precession of the equinoxes, this points to a period at least 4500 B. C., and will place the first beginnings of the Aryan race as far back as 6000 B. C. What is more remarkable in this case is that the same result has been reached simultaneously in two points geographically far apart, in Germany and in far-off Bombay, and both announcements have been made within the standing year. Speaking of the Bombay publication, Prof. Bloomfield says, "The book is unquestionably the literary sensation of the year just before us, and history, the chronic readjuster, will have her hands uncommonly full to assimilate the result of Tilak's discovery and arrange her paraphernalia in the new perspective."

How the church will receive the claims of these philologists remains to be seen, and yet the evidence in this case seems exceedingly strong. It is but an illustration of how the scientific method ventures on ground hitherto forbidden.

Pre-eminently, then, we need in education to make use of the Scientific Method, and we need such training in that direction as is only properly afforded by the so-called pure sciences. We would not decry the learning of the past, nor advise to cast away entirely the treasures that come down to us from the ages. They are valuable—exceedingly rich. We need them, but we need more than these; we need a method to work; a way to labor. The end to be attained is usefulness. The fresh college man, as he has been with his horde of dry learning, often failed in this. Many can call to mind, for instance, Horace Greeley's expression, "Of all horned cattle in a news-

paper office, the worst is the college graduate." We need an earnest, living, pushing, striving activity on right principles, principles of truth and justice for use in daily life, principles that are progressive and exactly scientific. Then whether in the dizzy whirl of business and of social gaiety, or in life exempt from public haught, we shall have a place, and shall find harmony and truth everywhere,—

"Tongues in trees, books in running brooks,
Sermons in stones, and good in everything."

VI.

THE CULTURKAMPF IN THE GERMAN EMPIRE.*

BY C. CLEVER, D.D.

THE sublime march of empire among the German people, keeping step to that music which makes this century so glorious, is one of the most remarkable political phenomena in the Christian centuries. Bismarck and Emperor William the First stand side by side on the pedestal of honor with Charlemagne, Barbarossa, Charles the Fifth, and Frederick the Great. The rapidity with which the petty principalities of the German States were welded together into one homogeneous empire astounded the political calculations of all the nations of the Old World. The war drum had scarcely begun to sound till the cannon on a thousand hilltops proclaimed to all that Germany had become an empire, and its grandest rival was at its feet, an unwilling but earnest suppliant.

The distinguishing characteristics of this new empire, and in like manner its signal advantages over the old, were first that it was purely German. It was German not only in language, but in spirit. The watch on the Rhine never found such a loyal response as when the victorious Germans paraded the streets of Paris, to attend the crowning of the idol of the German people in one of the fashionable palaces of the kings and emperors of France. Then, again, the different parts of the empire had been welded together by bands that are stronger than steel. It

* Authorities: Geffcken—"Church and State;" Kurtz—"Church History;" Andrews—"Institutes of General History;" Griesinger—"The Jesuits;" Pressense—"Contemporary Portraits;" Lea—"History of the Inquisition."

was a powerfully centralized government. Its architects were men who could do hard pounding, and were endowed with an endurance which would not stay till the goal had been reached. A third characteristic was that it was solely political, and entirely free from all ecclesiastical alliances. Ever since Pope Leo the Third had placed the imperial crown upon the head of Charles the Great, ecclesiastical interference had been experienced in every part of the empire. There were times when the strong hand of a ruler was directed simply by the best interests of the people; but these were the exceptions and not the rule. Now all is changed. The bonds which for a thousand years bound Germany to Rome had been snapped asunder. "Thrilled with great life, Germany proceeds to outgrow the Fatherland, fretting the ocean with her merchantmen, planting colonies beyond. Germany, with her unmatched prestige; Germany, so learned and strong, so peaceable if permitted to be, so terrible if provoked; Germany, possessing resources so vast and varied, developed and undeveloped, wheels into column, with Great Britain and the United States, to forward the irresistible march of Teutonic civilization round the globe."* As early as 1861, one of the greatest historians of Germany, with true prophetic insight, said: "As certainly as rivers run to the sea, there will be formed in Germany, by the side of Austria, a limited federation under the direction of Prussia. To secure it, recourse will be had to all means of persuasion and diplomacy, but to war in case of resistance."

The rise of New Germany, and with it, and in more respects than one in consequence of it, a new Europe, required new relationships. Old treaties and agreements, however hoary with age, must be readjusted. Roman interference may be tolerated as a straw to show which way the wind is blowing; but the days of Hildebrand and Henry the Fourth have passed away, and are no more expected to return than the leafage of a forgotten summer. It is then one of the most momentous crises in all European history. "It placed the leadership of Continental

* Andrews, "Institutes of General History," 440.

Europe for the first time in the hands of a Protestant and purely Teutonic power." England and America little knew to what extent the wars of 1866 and 1870 were influenced by religion and involved religious interests. The crash of conflict must come. Papal influences, immediate and remote, would all be brought to bear upon anything that would entangle the new empire in disputes and complications which would give the least promise of making it an egregious failure.

The first great sin of Germany, in the eyes of the Curia, was to treat with Italy in its struggle for independence. It was at this time that the anger of the Pope was stirred against Germany, and his warmest benedictions bestowed upon France. It was through the influence of the Jesuits that the war between France and Germany had been fomented. In their eyes the victory at Sadowa was a triumph of heretics. Antonelli exclaimed, when the news of the triumph of German valor reached Rome: "The world is coming to an end."

Having given some account of the position of New Germany, and its sympathy with the new order of things, it is well to cast a glance at the Vatican. It will then be seen how the Culturkampf arose, and why it became so fierce. Gregory the XVI, Pope from 1831 to 1846, the predecessor of Pius the IX, amid the sorest trials at home and abroad, hurled defiance at the new order of things. He was an incarnation of the Hildebrandian idea and determined to throw himself athwart the pathway of all progressive steps, either in church or state. In 1832 he issued an encyclical, in which he declared irreconcilable war against modern science, against the freedom of the press, against the freedom of the conscience. His whole pontificate was a consistent carrying out of these ideas. Though stoutly opposed by liberal and revolutionary movements, as humanity was struggling up towards that goal which a divine hand had placed before it, yet he continued to resist the inevitable. In as far as he succeeded, he was encouraged by the military interference of France and Austria.

Pope Pius the IX, in 1846, was chosen to fill the chair mad

ment by the death of his predecessor. In the earlier part of his pontificate, he seemed willing to make some concessions to the new age, which was just at hand. But Italy, at least, was not to be deceived by these empty professions. The Pope was driven out of Rome (1848), and the Roman Republic was proclaimed soon after (1849). After two years he came back, and was maintained in his somewhat anomalous position by French and Austrian bayonets. The Italian revolution was the red flag which excited all the slumbering energies of the Roman Curia. Abandoning all his liberal views, the Pope put himself entirely under the influence of the Jesuits. His prime minister, Antonelli, faithfully seconded the efforts that were made to stem the rising tide of modern civilization. From this time on, Jesuitism and Catholicism mean the same thing—are synonymous terms. The end is to obtain the complete control of Church and State. The Pope and some of the governments agreed that nothing but Jesuitism could save the world. The rising revolutions which swept all before them threatened, according to Papal thinking, Church and State with annihilation. In 1854 appeared the Bull proclaiming the sinlessness of the Virgin Mary. Ten years later Pius sent forth an encyclical accompanied by a syllabus, in which he condemned the whole round of modern ideas. It was a Jesuitical attempt to bring into reproach freedom of conscience, speech and press, equality of clergy and laity before the courts of the law, separation of the State from the Church, the right of kings and princes to reign, without seeking the privilege from Roman authorities. In short, all the political and social sins of modern times were impaled upon the same rack, as the sin of Christ or parricide. In 1870 followed the great council, which affirmed the infallibility of the Pope. This, at first sight, seems a sort of child's play, amid the closing scenes of the nineteenth century; but to those who have eyes to see, it means the assertion of a power, the ramifications of which run out along every line of national and ecclesiastical life. It is an ultramontane effort to incarnate the sentiments of the

syllabus, and give the Pope an opportunity to embrace at once every opening that would promise a firmer hold upon the governments of the earth. After the decree of Infallibility, he counsels with no one. He may at any moment issue a judgment, *ex cathedra*, which runs counter to all the best interests of the nations of the earth.

It is now that we have the rise of the *Culturkampf* in the German Empire. Germany was given to understand that all the power of the Papacy, fired by Jesuitical influence, would dog it at every step it would take in forming the new government. In a late number of a Roman Catholic magazine it is asserted, "What we now call the German Empire is scarcely a shadow of the Holy Roman Empire. The very idea of a Protestant emperor is an historical lie." When in 1866 Prussia made a league with Italy we have the first outburst of pronounced wrath from the Vatican. It was a new turn in the political fortunes of Europe for a German prince to form an alliance with a power which had been put under the ban by a papal decree. Whether it was to produce a conflict or create sympathy among the Roman Catholic powers, does not appear. A demand, however, was made for the German Emperor to reinstate the Pope in the temporal power that had slipped from his grasp never to return. The favor shown to Italy, and the ruthless shattering of the power of France, would be forgotten if this dream of Jesuitism would be accomplished by the aid of German diplomacy or German bayonets. To the followers of Loyola, it mattered not much which plan would be resorted to in order to accomplish the end. As the new empire began to move forward it found itself hampered at well nigh every point. The forces were hidden, but none the less effective in their persistent resistance. Gradually these popish mountebanks began a well-laid campaign against German interests. "They carried on their operations, at first, secretly, and concealed in secular clothing; gradually they found an entrance, in addition to princely courts, into a couple of families, as well as into a couple of cloisters, and from these into a couple of

pulpits; then they possessed themselves of one or other school classes, and after a few years they opened an educational institution; lastly, they took care that, on the one hand, the cathedral, and, on the other, the court and official appointments should be filled by their pupils; and behold, in the course of forty years, Germany was again Catholicized to the extent of two-fifths."*

In the early stage of ultramontane efforts in Germany, even the wisest statesmen were caught by the wily promises of the Jesuits. From the *annus mirabilis*, 1848 till 1860, most of the influential statesmen, including Bismarck and Emperor William, were deceived with the idea, always asserted, with such unwavering confidence, in a period of stress and storm, that the hierarchy is the only power which can steady tottering thrones, and enable governments to successfully quiet the disturbing elements which threatened to level all barriers of resistance. The hand that to-day lifts up, to-morrow proves to be a burden, that is more to be dreaded than the stormiest revolution. When Germany began to adjust itself to the new relations, the first contest is with the Jesuits. Thoroughly grounded in the Empire, with a fair show of proving their right to exist, from former favors shown to them, the conflict will be very serious. The Emperor and his Chancellor are loath to enter upon a hand-to-hand battle. For the while there is an attempt at peace; but soon the storm breaks out in terrible fury. The papal *nuncio* at Munich, in 1868, threw down the gauntlet with words that fired all the energy and love of the German people not under the influence of the Jesuits. "Only in America, England and Belgium does the Catholic Church receive its rights; elsewhere nothing can help us but the revolution." A Roman Catholic bishop, whose prominence gave his utterances a semi-official character, said, "If kings will no longer be of God's grace, I shall be the first to overthrow the throne. Only a war or revolution can help us in the end."

The question which must now be settled, once for all, is

* Griesinger, "The Jesuits," p. 339.

whether the principles of the syllabus giving conciliar authority, are to prevail in Germany, or the new ideas which have been born of ages of German travailing. Is Germany to be an annex to Rome, or shall she start out upon a career of progress and greatness which shall at first make her the wonder, and later on the admiration of the great men and mighty captains of the earth? There is hope at Rome that the former will be the course pursued. There had been such a large number of young men educated in the schools under Jesuitical influence, that might be expected to allow papalism to overcome patriotism. Unions, sodalities and congregations under the government of those who were but the tools of the Jesuits sprang up in every part of Germany, and from these might be expected a crowd of people who would obey their superiors at any cost. And besides all these, the Jesuits found in the Minister of Public Worship, Von Mühler, a tool who anticipated their wishes and championed every movement which in the least degree abetted their cause. A petition was presented to the German Emperor at Versailles, after the French Empire had fallen, and the last national stay of the Papacy had been broken, to aid the Papacy against Italy. Bismarck, however, did not give the least approval to the project. It was now that we find a party forming in the Reichstag to compel the rulers of the nation to grant the request. A party of Roman Catholics was at once formed, which, from their position in the hall, were designated as the Centre. Here we have the real Culturkampf. Their watch-cry was,—The government without the support of the Roman Church cannot stand. Though victory had been gained and the last hope of Rome, supported by all the power of the Papacy and all the cunning of Jesuitism had been wiped out by German valor, yet these would-be saviours of the Fatherland shouted themselves hoarse with this senseless and stale assumption. They wanted William to go to Rome and receive at the hands of Pius IX. the imperial crown. Never did the assumption that Rome should rule the consciences, and through them the temporal affairs of mankind, find a more daring assertion

in in the efforts of the party of the Centre in the Reichstag. It never before,—possibly Luther excepted—did the Roman Catholic power find a more stubborn antagonist. Prince Bismarck's *bon mot*, "We go not to Canossa," sounds the same note as Luther's "Hier stehe Ich—Ich kann nicht anders," and it aroused anew the storm. Open war was declared against Germany. If mercenaries, which played such a prominent part in the Middle Ages, could have been procured in sufficient numbers to compete with the German army flushed with victory, and under such magnificent generals as Unser Fritz, Bismarck and Von Moltke, Europe would have been treated to one of the fiercest struggles ever carried on between hostile races.

The leaders of the Centre, Malin Krodts, who died in 1874, Lindhorst, Bishop von Ketteler, all Jesuits, or under the influence of Jesuits, which is even worse, were acting in most complete understanding with the Roman Curia. Herr von Dabbelow favored the appointment of all such persons as would fight the Centre in its fight against the new empire.

In the government of Germany there had been a department for the special direction of matters pertaining to the Roman Catholic Church. Thus far there had been no conflict between it and the other departments of state. But now it is to be made a force, which is to be an entering wedge to sever the union that had been formed under inspiration and patriotism. It is the head of the slimy serpent hissing, which in the end will embrace within its folds all the departments of the state.

The first serious conflict was along the line of education. Some professors and teachers, who had not submitted to the dogma of infallibility, were suspended from their positions by the bishops in whose dioceses they were engaged. The Roman Catholic authorities insisted that the support of the government should be withheld, and the interference of the Church to have full sway. It was a critical time, and questions of law were not always as carefully considered as in times of peace, and when all the machinery of government is moving with ease

and precision. There was nothing to be done but to assert the rights of citizenship in the Empire and to protect those put under the ban, even though it seemed to be passing judgment upon the doctrines of the papal decrees. Bismarck had declared in 1872, "Dogmatic controversies about changes and declarations, which may have occurred within the dogma of the Catholic Church, are foreign to the government, which must hold itself aloof from them accordingly."

Though this was the position assumed by the government, yet the Papacy compelled it oftentimes to depart from it, and to cut the Gordian knot. It is true, this would oftentimes involve an apparent interference with the province of the Church. It was the necessity of the times that gave such a coloring to some of the efforts of the government. Dr. Wollman, a teacher of religion at the Gymnasium at Braunsburg, had refused to submit to the dogma of Papal Infallibility. He was, however, loyal to the government that had appointed him, and proved himself eminently qualified for the position in which he had been placed. The Bishop of Ermeland suspended him from his functions. Wollman called upon the government to protect him in his rights. This case has become somewhat celebrated, because it was a test case. The government, in face of all the protests of the Roman Catholic clergy, at home and abroad, and of the threats of the Centre, maintained the ecclesiastic in his position. It became evident that such a vigorous move required the removal of all hindrances from the imperial council board that would not heartily second the efforts of the government, even though dictated by common sense and expediency.

The first move, on the part of the government, was the abolishing of the department to which had been committed the management of Catholic Church matters. As was to be expected, this raised a storm that threatened the whole existence of the Empire. The two calmest actors in all that sublime drama of German history were William the First, still the idol of the German people, and his great chancellor, Prince Bismarck. None saw more clearly the necessity for such action than the

latter. Though patient and long-suffering, Germany or the Papacy must now be sacrificed; the wood had been gathered, the fire kindled, and none knew better than the great chancellor where the victim was to be sacrificed. The further advance, along the line so clearly marked out, and so doggedly pursued, required the removal of Herr Von Mühler. When this official perceived that he had become notoriously a drag on all progressive movements, that he was no longer suitable for the new era that had arisen in Germany, and that all the liberal sections of the Parliament were determined upon voting in plain terms a want of confidence in him, he resigned. The resignation was accepted at once, and on January 22, 1872, Dr. Falk was appointed to fill the place. All Germany felt that it had been delivered from an oppression that had poisoned the sources of patriotism and power. Prince Bismarck found in the new Minister of Religious Affairs a man after his own heart. "With such a person as him, Prince Bismarck could work hand in hand in proceeding against clerical lust after power and the presumption of the Jesuits and ultramontanes; indeed it was precisely on this account that the imperial chancellor had effected his nomination."* In the meantime the Pope had shown some signs of contempt against Germany. Cardinal Prince Hohenlohe had been appointed ambassador at the Court of Rome. This man had remained a German throughout all the contest, and had refused to become in any way the tool of the Jesuits. Now when he comes to the Court of Rome, the Pope positively refuses to receive him as the accredited ambassador of the German Empire. This insult rested heavily upon the heart of the Emperor and Bismarck, and it is just possible that it banished the last shred of sympathy for the Pope.

It also did another thing: it confirmed the opinion of Falk and Bismarck that nothing could be done till the schools were put under such instruction as would make them German in spirit and truth. In the Polish provinces of the Empire, Count Ledochowski, whom the Pope had appointed Primate of Poland,

* Griesinger, "The Jesuits," p. 359.

was the main centre of this agitation. Here the schools had ceased to use the German language, and had used nothing but the Polish. The whole effect was to win the youth away from the customs and laws, under whose protection they were to live. The Government was thus paying teachers to crush out the new feelings of patriotism that began to spring up in the hearts of the youthful portion of the Empire. It would have been foolishness to have imagined that the future of the government, founded upon Protestant Principles, and in defiance of the underlying principles of the syllabus, could have been safely committed to men and women educated by Jesuits away from German life and principles. It was this thought, or one like it, that prompted Bismarck to say "We shall not buy peace with Canossa medals; such are not minted in Germany."

In February, 1872, the government sanctioned the school inspection law, which had been passed by the Parliament. This transferred the inspection of the schools from the Church to the State, so that for the sake of the State, school inspectors, hostile to the purposes of the government in this move, could be removed. This act hitherto had been entirely in the hands of the clergy, which means in the hands of the Jesuits. Now laymen are to be given a hand. The Primate of Poland openly refused to obey the law, and commanded the use of the Polish language as before; and supported by Papalism, defied the government. This it was that roused the chancellor and his minister of education to still further efforts. In like manner it stirred the hierarchy to support the powerful Polish churchman. This was not hard to do. During the management of Von Mühler places of highest educational trust had been confided to incompetent Jesuitical sycophants. These could not and would not stand an inspection. Their holdings depended upon the government being beaten in this new departure. The papal hierarchy saw that the school supervision, provided by the government, meant nothing else than the "liberation of the schools from the influence of Jesuitical-ultramontane ecclesiastics."

Here again the government found their best intentions thwarted by the Jesuits. The Pope, no longer able to enlist French and Austrian bayonets to accomplish his designs in Germany, will enlist another army, more obedient and capable of moving with a precision that, unless discovered by the closest political espionage, will accomplish the end while men sleep. The Jesuits are only waiting for such an opportunity. They promise to undo the evil that has been inflicted upon the Roman hierarchy by the school inspection law. They encourage resistance, and give assurances which they never can fulfill. Petitions began pouring in upon the members of the Reichstag, urging upon them drastic measures, by which this influence, detrimental to the best interests of the Empire, might be counteracted. When the Parliament assembled in the spring of 1872, petitions poured in from all sides demanding in the interests of good government the prohibition of the Order of Jesus by the State.

It is when we get hold of the situation that Bismarck will appear in his proper light. A writer in *Donahoe's Magazine* for the present month (January, 1894) speaks of him "as a living picture of brutal force and cruel pride, a giant in size and physical proportions, constantly clad in the warlike uniform of a Prussian officer, full of arrogance and impudence, of duplicity and dishonesty, insulting in speech and despotic in measures, brooking no opposition and implacable to his adversaries, defying the power of the Holy Church and persecuting her adherents,—he is justly called the man of blood and iron. His tyranny and selfishness earned for him the title of Attila, the scourge of God." * Doubtless he appears all this, when he defied the Vatican and drove the Jesuits out of Germany. Jesuitism found itself confronted with a power such as it had not met before. When Pope Clement XIV., in 1773, abolished the society, it had put itself somewhat in hostility to Rome. But now it had become much stronger, and had made Romanism synonymous with Jesuitism, and felt itself able to defy the

* Page 49.

most gigantic power that could be gathered together on the earth. It has set itself on the high rock of papal infallibility, and made its nest among the professed stars of the Church, and defiantly says, Who shall bring me down to the ground? Scarcely has it attained the giddiest height in its history till a layman says, I will bring thee down to the ground.

The point now is that Bismarck hesitated as long as it was possible before he crushed the arrogant power that clogged the wheels of empire. The German Protestant Assembly reminded the government, and all Germany, that nothing short of the principles of the Syllabus would satisfy the demands of Jesuitism, and this meant a destruction of the authority of the German empire, that the Jesuits were constantly fomenting strife in every part of the Empire, that there is a war to the knife against all the modern ideas for which the German Empire stands. Prince Bismarck was reminded that the Protestant Union "looks upon it as an earnest duty of the German Protestants, and of the whole German nation, to act in regard thereto with energy, that all interference in school and Church matters should be put a stop to as regards those belonging to and affiliated with the Jesuit order." * When the petitions from the Jesuits were put into the hands of the Commission of the Parliament the report almost threw the great chancellor from his accustomed equipoise. He found that he had been criminally negligent in executing the wishes of the Protestant Union. The report ran as follows: "The Order of Jesuits is dangerous to the empire, because it teaches unconditional submission to the hierarchy, and ascribes to the Church rites which are incompatible with the existence of a well-ordered state. The Jesuits are also dangerous to the empire because they have persecuted the new empire with glowing hatred, excited false representations among the Catholic population, sought to diminish the value of the empire, and represented it as the declared enemy of the Church and religion. Lastly, the Jesuits are dangerous also to culture, because they have disturbed the peace of civil society,

* Griesinger, "The Jesuits," Vol. II., 367.

and impeded the moral development of the people. They are, therefore, to be opposed with all, even the most severe measures, and only a law of prohibition, which must be courageously enforced, can be of any avail." * It was when such importunities came from the people and the Parliament, that the government, under the leadership of Bismarck, determined upon the expulsion. Every Roman Catholic pulpit occupied by a Jesuit became a rostrum for political agitation. On the 4th day of July, 1872, the law against the Jesuits was published, which cut deep into the flesh of ultramontaniam. In the promulgation of this decree, Bismarck comes after the Parliament and the people, and simply becomes their mouth-piece. Even the promulgation of such drastic measures against the Jesuits did not remove the ulcer from the body politic. The confessional still found itself peopled by crowds, who were under the immediate influence of Jesuitic principles. While for the time being it seemed that the backbone of papal power had not been broken, but simply twisted. The serpentine influences of Jesuitism had simply been scotched, but not crushed. It should always be remembered that the law for the expulsion of the Jesuits was especially aimed at the foreigners, who had been imported into Germany, but who had never caught the new breath of culture and life that was abroad everywhere. German Roman Catholicism was now under the influence of French, Austrian, Spanish and Italian Jesuitism. These were the gentry who were committing all the mischief and inciting the Germans to deeds anything else than patriotic. Roman Catholic writers, without a scintillation of truth, pictured the decree as bearing hard upon soldiers and statesmen whose loyalty had never been questioned, and whose lives were saddened by the wounds and sufferings incurred in establishing the just claims of the empire against all its foes. No truth could be more thoroughly garbled than this.

In May, 1873, there followed the now-celebrated May laws. In these the government sought to make the instructors of the

* Griesinger, "The Jesuits," Vol. II., page 368.

people thoroughly German. Fitness for the exercise of the spiritual offices of the Church required citizenship in the empire, education at German schools, a course in the broadest culture that philosophy, history and literature could furnish. Then if an ecclesiastic was to be judged, he should come under the power of his peers. It was German superiors who were to exercise discipline, in accordance with fixed processional procedure.* It was patent to all that these laws were a necessity, if the attempts to organize an empire were not to prove abortive at the very beginning. Yet it soon became evident that even the May laws were not sufficient to uproot the festering cancer of the body politic. Nothing but the unflinching perseverance of Bismarck could have carried the measure through. "Truly indeed had there been any other man at the head of the imperial government than the magnificent statesman that we possess in Bismarck, and, moreover, had there not been a colossal majority of the German people against the Jesuits, things would have taken a different turn from what actually occurred." † In estimating the part that Bismarck played at this time, we must not forget that he was but the exponent of by far the larger portion of the German people. If he were the monster painted for us by Roman Catholic authorities, without a constituency, the movement would have been but the plaything of those whom he sought to control, if not destroy.

The movement could not remain in *statu quo*. The defiance which was hurled against the government, the attempt upon the chancellor's life, required other measures. The government was compelled to take under its management the whole business of the Church. In this the great chancellor is blamed for being inconsistent. In the earlier stage of the struggle, both the Emperor and Bismarck had eschewed the least intention of interfering with the rights of the different forms of faith in the empire; now, with an uncontrollable will, he seems to interfere along every line, pretending to direct all the different lines

* Kurtz, "Ch. Hist.," Vol. III., 317.

† Griesinger, "The Jesuits," Vol. II., 365.

of effort. But is there not a cause? Did not the exigencies of the case demand heroic treatment? He had stood outside of these high-walled institutions demanding surrender, and was taunted with a volley of curses that would have awed into silence a man of common back-bone. There was no constitutional authority for such a fierce opposition. It was natural, and inspired by common sense, that Bismarck should say, after every effort had been expended in dislodging them from their hiding-places without effect, "We will step over these walls and see what there is within." This and nothing else could dislodge the enemy. When this was once accomplished, there would be room for conciliatory measures. And scarcely has the first smoke of the Culturkampf battle cleared away before the Iron Duke bends and is ready for any conciliation that is not contrary to the best interests of the empire.

In this contest, when told without any partisan discoloration, the Pope seems to have made a stubborn resistance, that could not be moved by anything short of a restoration of the Jesuits, and the assistance of the German empire to obtain the temporal power which had fallen from his nerveless grasp. In speaking of the Italian Liberals he calls them wolves, perfidious, Pharisees, Philistines, thieves, liars, hypocrites, dropsical, impious, children of Satan, children of perdition, satellites of Satan, monsters of hell, demons incarnate, stinking corpses, teachers of iniquity. The same epithets, and for the same cause, might have been hurled at the German Liberals. And all this billingsgate was expended upon those whose only wrong consisted in asserting that there should be a separation of the Church and State, and that the Syllabus should not be made the foundation stone of the new governments springing up on every hand.

It was a necessity to expel the Jesuits, pass the May laws demanding a rigid inspection of the schools, and deprive some of the most prominent Bishops of their livings. Where these things were being enacted as mere matters of State policy, a pastoral was sent forth instructing the clergy to remain steadfast in their resistance, asserting "that since the days of Dio-

cletian there had not been so violent a persecution of the name of Jesus." The Archbishop of Poland compared the demand to give notification of clerical appointments with the demands of the Roman emperors to cast a pinch of incense to the image of the emperor, or sacrifice to the heathen deities. In the Parliament, the Centre, supported by Poles and Socialists, had fought desperately against all these ecclesiastical laws, and at the same time against every other law which the government sought to carry through. When the power of the Centre in the Parliament could not stay the tide, an anarchistic feeling was aroused and encouraged from Rome, which culminated in an attempt upon the great chancellor's life, at Kissingen, on the 13th of July, 1874. The would-be murderer acknowledged that the deed was prompted by a desire for vengeance upon him who had enforced the May laws and offered such insults to the party of the Centre.

In 1875 another encyclical was sent forth, designating the submission to the laws of the Parliament touching the Church as slavery, and the executors of these laws as godless men. A little later on in the same year there came another letter from the Pope, in which he romanced about a second Nero playing upon a lyre, while with enchanting words he deceived the people and the nations. He spoke much about the man who ruled with a rod of iron. When the German pilgrims went to Rome in 1877, to take part in the Episcopal Jubilee, he had much to tell about the "modern Attila." It is uncertain whether by this endearing (?) term he meant to designate the emperor or the chancellor. The sublime impudence of ultramontane assumptions was reached when the Pope pronounced the May laws invalid, bluntly repudiated all the sovereign rights therein assumed, and authorized and promoted the rebellion of all Catholic subjects against them. That the German army, flushed with the victories of Sadowa, Sedan and Paris, were not led at once against Rome, in order to hush the impious interference with good government, shows a patience and forbearance which might have been expected in the old emperor, but not in the

chancellor, who then shared with the emperor the enthusiasm of the German people.

In 1878 Leo XIII. was elected Pope. Be it said to the honor of the newly chosen Pope, that he was ready to confer with the German authorities, in the hope of some understanding by which the irrepressible conflict might be modified at least. If it would have been possible for the Curia to have freed itself from the bands of Jesuitism, which the former Pope had permitted to grow around it, there would have been some hope of success. The numerous attempts proved in the end failures. The demands of the Curia were of such a nature that the State could not submit to them without stultifying itself at every turn, and declaring the struggles both in the Parliament and in the army as worse than foolhardy and entirely nugatory. The conciliatory measures have been carried forward at different times. In all these efforts it looks as if the successors of Bismarck had gone far on the way to Canossa, and one side of the medals, at least, by which peace had been secured, had been engraved from a die with Canossa inscriptions. Ultramontanism must rule or ruin. It cannot treat with any government without being allowed to have its own way. To refuse this is to incur a displeasure which never ceases to take vengeance, however, for this may require opposition to that which is for good government.

After the German Empire had once become thoroughly established, and in quick succession had lost the old Emperor, and then "Unser Fritz," and found the reins of empire in the hands of a young and comparatively inexperienced man, without any serious consequences it felt as if it could be gracious to the advances that were made by the papal authority. Its generous treatment has only warmed into life the viper that for the while seemed frozen to death. The Jesuits have been permitted to return to Germany; the power of the Centre, in league with Social Democrats, still blusters and fumes against the proper execution of the laws. Quietly, but none the less effectively, a spirit of discord and opposition to all the laws

of the new empire is being fomented everywhere. The growth of social democracy is encouraged, in the hope that the new ideas of the State and Church will prove a bond instead of a blessing. The head of the camel is already in the tent, and with some encouragement will soon be followed by the whole body. That this is the programme now being formulated at Rome, has never escaped the clear vision of the great chancellor, even though he may be in retirement. The great antithesis between ultramontaniam and the modern state threatens to become a fire-brand, scattering a deadly strife on every hand. The return of the Jesuits will either make Germany Romanistic, or a State under the control of the Social Democrats, or the government will be aroused to array itself against both these forms of anti-liberalism. The first is not at all likely to happen, the second is a bare possibility, and the last is more than probable. This will be accomplished peaceably by the increasing ideas and forces, which had scarcely begun to be, when the first contest was waged. It will be accomplished by a war of ideas or aims more furious than that of two decades ago, if the Jesuits should get hold enough to interfere with the successful operations of government. At present it would seem as if Germany could afford to be gracious to even her most bitter enemies; but the lawlessness of the Jesuits may demand a corresponding harshness on the part of the regularly constituted authorities, if Protestantism is to be protected, and the State preserved. The recent reconciliation of the young Emperor and the great Chancellor impressed the idea upon the world that the new government was awakening to the threatening invasion of the same old foe. The triumphant entrance of Bismarck into Berlin evidenced at the same time that German patriotism flames as high as when the victories of Sadowa, Sedan and Paris flushed the soldiery, and that any movement looking to the suppression of tendencies that interfered with the triumphal march of New Germany would be heartily seconded by all the blood and brawn of the people.

VII.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS FROM STUDY OF ST. PAUL'S EPISTLES.

(Translated from *Godet's Introduction au Nouveau Testament, Vol. I., Les Epistres de Saint Paul*)

BY REV. HENRY S. GEKEIER.

I. The thirteen Epistles of St. Paul, which have been preserved to us, are divided into four groups, distinguished by dates and by the matter treated.

The *First* (from the year 53), which includes the two Epistles to the Thessalonians, deals with the subject which interested the Church most at its origin, the return of Christ.

The *Second* (54-59), which includes the Epistles to the Galatians (54-55), the two to the Corinthians (57-58) and that to the Romans (58-59), deals essentially with Christian salvation and the mode of its appropriation.

The *Third* (62-64), in which we class the Epistles to the Colossians, to Philemon and to the Ephesians (62-63), and to the Philippians (63-64), has for its principal object the person of the Saviour and His union with the Church, which He constitutes His organ here below.

The *Fourth* (64-66), which includes the three Pastorals, has for its end to assure the future of the Church on the earth, under those who are to instruct it and govern it after the departure of the apostles.

This gradation has nothing systematic about it; it was the result of the natural course of things. The promised great future preoccupied at first the thought of the early Christians, and raised the questions related to it. Then the attention of

the Church was necessarily drawn to the nature of the salvation to which we owe that great hope, and to the means of its acquisition. Thence it was spontaneously raised to the contemplation of the person of Him to whom we owe that salvation, and who by His constant union with the Church enables her to inherit the promised glory. Finally as those disappeared who had founded the Church by revealing to her that salvation, Christian thought had to transfer itself to the conservation of the earthly society which had been constituted the depository of it. Thus the succession of the four groups which we have established is explained in a very simple manner.

With this general gradation agrees in a remarkable way a particular gradation which we observe upon certain points.

And first as to the relation between Judaism and the Church. In the first group the relation is that of pure hostility; so alien to the Church, Judaism is simply a persecutor (1 Thess. i. 2). In the second group the relation becomes complicated. Judaism tries to enter the Church and get possession of it by imposing upon it the yoke of Mosaism. Forced to retreat under this gross form by the powerful resistance of Paul, we see it return to the charge in the third group more refined and more seductive, offering the law to believers as a means of entering into a more intimate communion with the celestial spirits and of securing them as mediators along side of and perhaps above Christ. In the fourth group, after this new effort had failed, Judaism presents nothing more than a caricature of itself, selling like a peddler, to the curiosity of the faithful, profane frivolities which have no connection with piety and practical faith.

Another gradation, not less remarkable, offers itself in the appearance of spiritual gifts and in their connection with the function of teaching. In the first group we notice the appearance of gifts in the Gentile church under a form most modest. It is prophecy that is not to be despised, and speaking in the Spirit that is not to be quenched (1 Thess. v. 19-21). With this we see also appear a beginning of orders (v. 12-13, "those who have the rule over you"). We admire in the second group the

full blossom of spiritual powers. At Corinth they fill with their brilliant manifestations the whole stage of the life of the Church. The orders—for there are such, and it is wrong to stubbornly refuse to recognize their existence—are relegated to the background; they seem to be as yet only simple offices necessary to the exterior life of the Church and to the assistance of the poor.

This relation commences to be transformed in the third group. Not only among the gifts does the word of the teachers appear to take precedence over that of the prophets and of the speakers in tongues; there is no longer even a question of the latter; but the teachers are almost identified with the pastors (pastors and teachers, Eph. iv. 11), who are no other than the presbyters (Acts xx. 28). In the Epistle to the Philippians there is no longer the least allusion to charismatical gifts; it is upon the two orders of the episcopate and of the diaconate that the real progress of the Church reposes.

A step toward a more complete union of the function of teaching with the order of bishop is seen, lastly, in the Pastoral, although the fusion is still far from being consummated.

The capacity of teaching is required of him who aspires to the episcopate, and the bishop who, while being a faithful ruler, has applied himself to instruction and to edification, is doubly worthy of recognition by the Church. Now Timothy is to have a care to develop, even aside from the episcopate, men capable of teaching the faithful. We are then still far from the future episcopate; but we are walking on the road which conducts to it.

Relatively to the expectation of Christ's return, finally, the two impressions of the apostle the most different, are expressed in the two letters which occupy the first and last place. In 1 Thess., Paul, altogether uncertain of the moment of his death (v. 10, "Whether we wake or whether we sleep"), classes himself, inasmuch as he is actually living, among those who shall be present at that return (iv. 17), while in 2 Tim. he expects nothing more than a near death and his entrance into the

heavenly kingdom (iv. 18), and he speaks of the Parousia only in connection with those coming after him. Ranging between these two extreme points are the other epistles: 1 Cor. (xv. 52) which attaches itself immediately to 1 Thess.; and the Epistle to the Philippians which (i. 20-21) forms the transition to 2 Tim.; between these two are 2 Cor. and Rom., in which the two contrary impressions are in some sort balanced (2 Cor. v. 2-4, 6-9 and Rom. xiv. 8).

These diverse series which agree among themselves and which tally perfectly with the chronological order which our study has assigned to the Epistles of Paul, are at the same time the counter-proof of that general result. We might also be convinced by this, that in order to admit a movement constant and progressive in the thought of the apostle, it is not necessary to think of him as creating spontaneously by his own speculation his conception of Christian salvation and adding year by year a new story to the edifice. The great fact of salvation conceived and accomplished by God, and which by the revelation Paul had received of it and by the experience he had made of it, reflected itself distinctly in his thought, remained at bottom permanent, the indissoluble bond of those varied teachings which are contained in the four groups of his letters. Although anathematizing himself, as he declared in Galatians in case he should ever alter that salvation divinely received (Gal. i.), he compels himself on every occasion to adapt the preaching of it to the different needs of those whom he addressed. He sought, as he said to those very Galatians, to *change his voice* (*ἀλλάξει τὴν φωνήν*, iv. 20) to discern in each case the side of the truth appropriate to answer to the needs of his hearers or readers, and the forms of language and exposition most appropriate to make it penetrate their hearts. According as the spiritual state of the community of believers was transformed by the internal action of the Christian life and under better environments, he drew from that salvation new resources and new accents which were adapted to the given situations.

It is thus that we find him in turn Prophet, drawing the

double picture, dark and luminous, of the end of things, in the Epistles to the Thessalonians; the sharp Polemic, repelling the intermeddlings of Judaism, in the Epistles to the Galatians and to the Colossians; the luminous Doctor, calmly expounding Christian salvation and its progress into the heart of humanity, in the Epistle to the Romans; the Psalmist, celebrating in exalted terms the magnificent work of the incorporation of the heathen into the kingdom of God, in the Epistle to the Ephesians; the Pastor, gathering with his shepherd's crook, in wisdom, firmness, severity, and especially in love, the flock just ready to escape from him, in the two Epistles to the Corinthians; the Father of the family, thanking and encouraging children well beloved, in Philippians; the devoted Friend, interceding seriously and playfully with one brother for another brother who has offended him, in Philemon; the Administrator, with spirit practical and far-seeing, taking care of his work which he was going to leave, in the Pastoral Epistles. No string is lacking to his instrument; he makes them vibrate, each one at the desired moment, conformably with the subject which he is treating; one only foundation; always different aspects of the same fundamental truth, due also sometimes to new revelations on certain particular points.

II. We have just considered Paul in comparison with *himself*; let us now compare him to the *other apostles*. Between him and them we note a fundamental difference. During the two years and a half which the Twelve passed with Jesus, they did not cease looking upon the Mosaic religion as the base upon which ought forever to rest the work of their Master; in Jesus Himself they saw only the supreme realization of Judaism. High as He raised them by His teaching and by His personal contact, it was still Judaism that was increasing with Him and with them; the idea of a possible rupture with that religious constitution divinely granted never entered their mind. And if the promises of Jesus made them catch a glimpse of the entrance of the Gentiles into the Divine kingdom, it seemed to them that that great fact could not be accomplished for the

heathen except as they should be cast into the mould of Mo-
 saism and they should come forth Jews. Even after Pentecost,
 it was only gradually that their piety was disengaged from the
 received forms in order to create new ones, and that the teaching
 of the Spirit conducted them to the spiritualism and universalism
 of which Jesus had planted in them the germ. It required the
 vision at Joppa and the experience with Cornelius to extort
 from Peter that exclamation of surprise, "In truth I per-
 ceive"—ἐπ' ἀληθείας καταλαμβάνομαι (Acts 10: 34). With-
 out the express divine mission which Philip had received, he would
 probably not have dared to grant baptism to the Ethiopi-
 an eunuch, who asked it only by virtue of his faith. Jesus had
 suddenly withdrawn his disciples from the particularism of the
 theocracy. That enfranchisement was one of the things
 which applied the words He spake to them before His death: "I
 have still many things to tell you." And certainly the influence
 of Paul and of the immense work accomplished by him in the
 heathen world did not count for little in the growing emancipa-
 tion of the apostles.

Altogether different was the course of Paul. His enfran-
 chisement from Judaism was instantaneous and radical. He
 himself compared that rupture to the operation by which a child
 is violently taken from its mother's womb (1 Cor. xv. 8). The
 illumination which accompanied that moment was sudden as the
 rupture; the apostle compares it to the effect produced by that
 divine command: "Let there be light," which dissipated the
 night of chaos (2 Cor. iv. 6). It was that decisive moment that
 Paul described in his address to Peter on the occasion of the
 conflict at Antioch, when he said to him (Gal. ii. 19), "As for
 me I by the law am dead to the law, in order that I might live
 to God; I am crucified with Christ." In other words, by the
 condemnation into which it brings me and by the inability of
 keeping it in which I see myself, the law has forced me to break
 with it and to seek my righteousness in the Cross alone; there
 in communion with the Crucified One, I am at last dead to
 myself in order to live to God. It was thus when he had pushed

to its very limit his fidelity to the law, that in a flash the yoke of the law was broken for him. There was not with Paul any slow transition, any middle ground; the appearance of Christ had swept away all his past, his soul was clear; his aspiration was intense; the gift of God answered to it; he was complete and completely possessed. If ever the word of Jesus, "There are last that shall be first," was verified in history, it was in this example forever a prototype, as Paul himself well understood it (1 Tim. i. 16).*

III. He was then for a moment in advance of the Twelve. But did he not, as some have claimed, go beyond Christ himself? Did he not become a creator instead of remaining a simple disciple? Did he not found a Christianity different from that of which Jesus thought? according to some, more spiritual and broader; according to others, more intellectual and more dogmatic? Did he not bring into the new religion a foreign alloy, rabbinical formulas, Alexandrian speculations, Greek philosophizing? Assuredly, if the conversion of Paul had been a revolution of an intellectual nature, the solution of a speculative crisis, one might ask such questions. But the thing at issue for him is concerning a religious and moral enigma. Christ presented Himself to him, not to give a response to questions, a solution of doubts, but to give to his soul panting for salvation, pardon and a new life. He revealed Himself to him, not as a Gamaliel of superior order, but as his Saviour and his Lord. And the bond which ever after attached Paul to this Master, was not only that of a respectful affection, but that of absolute dependence and adoration. Such a relation does not comport itself with the suppositions we have just enunciated. No more do the facts confirm them. Paulinism gushed forth into the world with too lively a sweep, too original, too powerful, too coherent, not to be the work of one stream. If at times he

* Does any one raise as an objection the vow of Cenchrea (Acts xviii. 18), that at Jerusalem (Acts xxi. 26)? But Paul has himself explained it (1 Cor. ix. 20-22), and we see in what followed how he proceeded according to the word and spirit of Jesus.

may appear rabbinical in form, at bottom he is always new. He may in his development even agree with certain notions or expressions of the Talmud or from Philo; but let us not forget that between him and these systems there was the common ground of the Old Testament. As to the Hellenism that is claimed in the Pauline teaching, there is an error in date. We must come down to Justin, Clement and Origen in order to find the intrusion of Greek metaphysics into the gospel teaching.

The Christian conception of the apostle is not a composite of gathered fragments; it is a whole whose diverse parts are closely bound together; it is a unique unfolding on all sides of the salvation accomplished and interpreted by Christ. Everything starts from that point of departure as the living organism from the cell in which it was contained.

The apostle, it is true, does not often cite the text of the words of Jesus; but how shall we help recognizing the close relation which exists between the teaching of the one and that of the other: between the manner with which Paul presents justification by faith, and the words as well as the practice of Jesus Himself; between the exposition by Paul of expiation, and the institution of the Holy Supper; between the communion of the glorified Christ and the Church as Paul depicts it under the figure of the head and body, and the promises of Christ relative to His return in the Spirit; between the expectation of the coming of the Lord, in which the apostle lived, and the discourses of Jesus upon that subject; between the declarations of Paul on the abolition of the law, and the words of Jesus which implied the abrogation of the Levitical prescriptions of food (Matt. xv. 16-20), and the cessation of the worship of the temple (Matt. xxiv. 2); between the universalism of salvation according to Paul, and the command of Jesus to preach the Gospel to every human creature, without there being any mention made of the law? I do not know of any part of the teaching or work of Paul, of which we do not find the principle already laid down in the life and in the words of the L

Jesus has, if I may so speak, drawn the apex of the angle, of which Paul has only extended the sides.

There is especially one teaching of Jesus, in which we may catch the perfect conformity of thought between Him and the Apostle Paul. It is that which contains the parable of the old garment and the new garment, and that of old bottles and new wine, with the following word in which Jesus brings out the difficulty there is for those who are accustomed to old wine, to accustom themselves to the freshness of new wine (Luke v : 30). The old garment which cannot be patched, but for which a new one must be substituted, clearly represents the old Mosaic regime which may not be completed by new rites, such as fasting, but which must disappear altogether to give place to the regime of the Spirit. The old bottles, unable to preserve the new wine, represent not less clearly pharisaical Israel too infatuated with legal observances to receive and preserve the new wine of the Gospel, which reclaims new souls to retain it. The word by which Jesus closes is a word of excuse in favor of sincere Jews, whose old prejudgments prevent them as yet from breaking away from legal observances and who must not be startled in their spiritual course, which is a little slow and methodical. What is the work of St. Paul if not the faithful execution of that programme? And this he did step by step, from that clear opposition which he established between what he called the *oldness of the letter and the newness of the spirit* (Rom. vii : 6), to the great call of the Gentiles and to the formation of a new Israel, and, finally, to that conduct full of consideration toward the tardy but sincere Jews, whom he treated all his life with such great tenderness.

Will some one object that it is the evangelist Luke who, as a true follower of Paul, puts in advance into the mouth of the Master what is necessary to justify the work of the apostle? But the two parables which we have just mentioned are found also with Matthew and with Mark. They are thus part of the apostolic tradition, and they have thus the strongest guaranty which any word of Jesus could possess. Besides, their incom-

parable originality sufficiently protects them against any such suspicion. Holtzmann says: "They belong to the most authentic of the authentic." As to the following declaration which we do not find in Luke, it is connected too immediately and too delicately with the second parable not to be as authentic as that is.

We conclude: St. Paul did nothing but execute what Jesus had hinted at and wisely prepared for, without himself being able to realize it; for what reason? We learn it from his lips: the time was not yet come. In St. Paul was accomplished in highest degree the promise of Jesus: "The works that I do shall ye do also, yea, and greater works than these shall ye do, for I go unto my Father."

Paul assigns himself the last place; but he was none the less the greatest, next to Him who can be compared to none other.

VIII.

THE SPIRIT OF HIGHER CRITICISM.*

BY PROF. JACOB COOPER, S. T. D., D. C. L., RUTGERS COLLEGE.

THERE are those who are out of sympathy with the doctrines of the Church and yet appear to be unaware of this fact. For they show uncommon desire to remain in the fold and enjoy all the protection the erroneous body can give them. This may be the result of unconscious mental cerebration. Still we would expect that when a radical change of view supersedes the faith once avowed and made the indispensable basis of admission to the privileges of the Church and ministry, the man who experiences such a change should himself become aware of it first. Moreover, when he abandons this faith he will, if honest, at once depart from the communion and surrender his trusts without waiting to be invited out. Yet, when condemned by a majority of three to one in the Church court of last resort, this decision is interpreted to mean that the great body of the Church is still devoted to his teachings. This self-deception, whether voluntary or involuntary, is a practical illustration of the Higher Criticisms. For it can make the Word of God teach anything the critical sense desires, even to falsify directly its plainest utterances. The same skill is shown in the interpretation of duty to the Church. While a monopoly of candor and fairness is claimed by the critic, he charges dishonesty on all who still maintain the accepted doctrines which he once

* We publish this paper not because it expresses our views concerning the "Higher Criticism," but because on such a subject we believe the cause of truth is best subserved by giving a hearing to all parties.—*Editors of Reformed Quarterly Review.*

promised to defend. If they oppose his views they are ignorant bigots; if they call him to account for abuse of trust, they are malignant persecutors. It must be plain to any fair-minded man that these Higher Critics labor to defend a theory, not to discover the truth, and seek notoriety, not the peace of the Church. While they may not be of enough consequence personally to create a ripple in this peace had they remained outside where they belong, yet having obtained a foothold within they can make the enemy to rejoice by traitorous utterances. The difficulty of dealing with them increases their impudence. The process by which a false member may be cast out is both ungrateful to the prosecutor and most disturbing to the Church. Hence the proverbial audacity of those who know themselves to be false to the creed they profess. They look upon a subscription to the formularies of a church much as a gay French or Spanish lady does on marriage. She finds a lawful protector who secures her respectable standing in society. The bills are paid, her support is guaranteed, her peccadillos are covered up; and she is enabled to lead a disorderly life with impunity. The infidelities in either case are hard to discover, and when proven bring the innocent party into disagreeable notoriety. And the cause of all this disgrace, after destroying the peace of a house, insists on being rewarded with alimony!

This picture is not overdrawn. Bishop Colenso, for example, departed from the faith which his ordination vows bound him to maintain in the face of all opposition. He did not even pretend after a time to be in sympathy with that body of Christians whose creed he despised, whose sacred Book he ridiculed, whose defenders he maligned. Yet he clung with dogged tenacity to the honors and emoluments of his office. He, as an uncompromising enemy, still claimed all the rights with which he had been invested as a defender. Similar conduct, *magna camponere parvis*, may be seen nearer home. The Congregational and Presbyterian Churches have been disquieted recently, and are threatened with a continuation, by persons who never could get the coveted notoriety until they attacked

their own house, and, according to the measure of their ability, tried to pull it down over their heads. And though they berate its doctrines and endeavor to raze its foundation walls, still they manifest strange reluctance to be removed beyond the line which marks its boundaries. They "stand on the order of their going," and at this juncture as heretics they become famous. For as the world measures their greatness by the noise they make, it is for a time carried away with admiration.

Each age of the Church has its peril which must be met as it arises. The special phase of heresy most rife at present is a simulated zeal for the integrity of the Divine Word with a harpy-like ferocity in tearing it to pieces. Under the name of Higher Criticism which places itself above Revelation, and so subordinates the utterances of the Holy Spirit to human reason, the troublers of Israel weaken the respect for the authority on which our faith rests, and of course free themselves from obedience to a creed which they destroy by showing that it rests on no Divine warrant. For by a dissecting process they undertake to show which part is spurious; and each scholar pursuing his own method, the destructive process goes on until discredit is cast upon the whole written Word. For who is to decide which elimination is right? The self-confidence of each critic is equal to that of his fellow. Hence doubt is cast upon every part in turn. For the critic is sure of nothing, save that his judgment, in rejecting the portion which his keen sense condemns, is infallible. He knows that the Holy Spirit could not utter such a sentiment because this does not agree with the moral sense of mankind; which is only a modest way of asserting that this moral sense is in his special keeping. Such a book or sentence is declared to be not genuine because it does not agree with the grammatical style or sentiment of the writer. Of course the critic knows just what the language and thought of the writer must be, since it is so easy to gauge the capacity of one who is divinely inspired. Plato says, "It is not hard to doubt." In truth the meanest capacity is sufficient to discover blemishes, and having a natural affinity with deformity

can find it anywhere. And it is easy to say what revelation should be if this depends on the whim of the critic. Yet if this summary process be allowed we will have a Bible diverse as the tastes of the several scholars who reconstruct it from inner consciousness, and all will be destroyed piecemeal. But with naive generosity these critics grant us the satisfaction of knowing that *the whole Bible taken together contains the Will of God infallibly sure, though each part is proved untrustworthy*. For a sufficient number of errors will neutralize each other, and the residuum becomes inerrant truth! The absurdity of this theory needs only to be stated nakedly to be rejected. Each book and verse of revelation may contain errors. Each critic is to be the judge of what and where they are. All are right in their own estimation, and being so the result is that every portion of the Bible in turn is stripped of Divine authority. What remains is a *caput mortuum*, which has no more respect than the critics can invest it with. The world asks what such a Bible as this is worth? The Church wishes to know where is the ultimate ground of her faith. If the foundations be destroyed what can the righteous do? is her plaintive cry. For we must have authority somewhere; a common criterion by which to test our judgment and guide our lives. Otherwise we usurp the place of God, and become not only a law unto ourselves, but unto Him.

The application of Philology to the interpretation of the Scriptures has most important uses which are freely admitted. But this science must be kept in its proper place. This is to tell us what the Revealed Word actually says, not what fallible men—however learned—think it ought to say. There must be an admission, *ab initio*, that a Revelation from God is above human reason, or else there can be none at all, and no need of any. The critic admits in general that: "This is granted. But my judgment must determine what Revelation should teach, else I cannot accept it; for nothing can be accepted which my reason cannot comprehend and my judgment approve." Yet this at once supersedes the neces-

sity. For if the critic can tell what the message from God should be, he is not only wise above that which is written, but above the Author who should be the judge of what is necessary. Here we have the controversy of revelation versus reason ; a contention as old as the Church, and likely to continue until all men shall be humble enough to subordinate their own pride of intellect to the Divine authority.

It matters not that these critics do not agree with each other, and that their methods and results are mutually subversive. The process goes on though each critic is proved to be wrong, and all his erudition found to be chaff driven by the wind. We have seen the same course of destructive criticism pursued with many ancient authors whose writings claim no more than human authorship. The songs of Homer and the history of Herodotus have been subjected to a slashing process which left nothing but the *disjecta membra* of the dissecting room, noisome and waiting burial. At the beginning of this century F. A. Wolf dismembered Homer with the cleaver of a butcher. He eliminated part after part until there was nothing left of the Iliad or Odyssey but fugitive songs, such as were sung by vagabond minstrels. There was no connected story, nothing but mythical tales strung together at random by Pisistratus or the Alexandrine grammarians. Homer himself became a myth, and Troy never had an existence. Herodotus fared little better. He was a garrulous story-teller, who relied on the gullibility of his hearers while he drew on his imagination for the facts. He was everywhere derided as a historian, and relegated to the company of Gulliver and Munchausen. But, after a time, Schliemann and Layard began to dig. They found remains which corresponded with the descriptions of the Iliad and the garrulous traveler so closely that they read the originals in a new light. One fact and correspondence suggested another. By and by cuneiform inscriptions were deciphered. Libraries of baked bricks were found and read. Herodotus now is veritable history ; the Iliad a descriptive poem with unity of design suggesting one author, and Agamemnon king

among men. Wolf's Prolegomena is now only a curious specimen of perverted ingenuity, as deliciously absurd in its conclusions as the speculations of Doctor Akakia. Not only have succeeding critics and explorers shown that the learned tomes of *cock-sure* criticism on the leading classic authors were like blind men shooting at a mark ; but even the same critic has written on both sides of the same question so as to be certain that he was right. For Professor Nitzsch, of Kiel, wrote a ponderous volume of 700 pages to prove that the Iliad and Odyssey were composed by different authors ; and after waiting twenty years, when everybody, including himself, had forgotten his whole work, he wrote another as extensive to prove diametrically the reverse of his former position !

There is a confidence begotten of ignorance which nothing can shake. As it rests simply on the *critical sense* it can change its base in a moment. For this sense, which is superior to evidence and therefore needs none but its own infallibility, yields readily to a new mood ; and then a fresh theory of interpretation is quietly adopted without anybody being the wiser. One would think that the fate of Kuinoel, Lachmann, Paulus and Ewald, whose theories are superseded as rapidly as the changing fashions at Paris, would enable the small fry of servile American imitators to see the absurdity of their claim to infallibility, though we never expect them to become conscious how feeble are their own echoes of the Higher Criticism. Horace tells us that there is a species of insanity so inveterate that all the hellebore grown on three Anticyæ will not heal it !

We need something more stable than the results of Higher Criticism. The acceptance of an infallible authority is necessary to the existence of a Church. The Romanist finds this in the pretended successor of Peter, and in the decrees of General Councils ; the Protestant, in an inerrant Bible illuminated by the Holy Spirit. But if men have no confidence in the credibility of their guide-book they will not follow its directions. If doubt be cast on it to any degree, just to that degree will it fail to meet the wants of those who feel their ignorance and there-

fore their dependence. For those who are conscious of neither it makes no difference. Satisfied with themselves, they can make their own creed, each for himself; can make it to suit their varying moods; and, as it really means nothing, it matters not what they make it. This is the effect on all those whom the mania, Higher Criticism, attacks. They have unsettled themselves, and to the extent they have influence they unsettle others. But the Church is not upheld by these. The great preachers of all ages and sections of Christendom have been noted for their steadfast advocacy of an inerrant Bible. God speaks to man, and the word which he utters vouches for its own authenticity by the effect which it has on the character of the individual and the activity of the Church in all holy living. The confidence of the believer is not in himself, but in a Power above his own, and a wisdom which is profitable to direct. The record of this Power he touches with reverent hands. He believes it to be the counterpart of Nature. For just as in the material works of the Creator he expects to find truth by inquiring what they really are, not by making them over again to suit his own fancy; even so when God speaks in His revelation of His moral law. The naturalist does not doubt the truthfulness of the material record, but his own power of comprehension. He sees the finger of God at work, and endeavors to trace the characters and read their meaning. But he does not try to make the record anew. There is no doubt except as to his power to arrive at what God purposes to say in Nature. The higher criticism of Hypotheses has been wrecked so often that the true scientist prefers to let the record speak for itself. Analogy would suggest a similar treatment for that which not only claims to be a Divine record, but attests that claim by the effect which it has exerted on human nature. Here, however, destructive criticism, while at first not bold enough to avow its distrust of the whole record, perhaps not even conscious of such a desire, yet by the unholy tampering with that which God has left for an infallible guide, is led on to seek flaws rather than accept manifest perfections until the Word becomes despicable in

his own eyes. Instead of a living organism, instinct with intelligence and beauty, it is a mass of flesh and bones; dismembered, hacked to pieces and noisome to his critical sense. Confidence is lost in that which we treat with disrespect. And if those whose duty it is to lead others to God have no faith in the only guide we have, the probability or even possibility of a revealed religion is questioned. Such has always been the effect of the higher criticism. It has weakened the sanctions of the divine law just in proportion as the claim for the Bible to be an inerrant guide has been questioned. No sinner is awakened by an appeal to a law which has no sanctions, or quickened to holy living by a Gospel which is pronounced mythical. The progress of Christianity is effected by men positively assured of the fact that God has sent them armed with a commission which is specific in its orders and undoubted in its authority. Those who have confidence in the cause they advocate will awaken enthusiasm, the precursor of success. McClellan, while trembling for his own safety, did not believe that he could ever get into Richmond; Grant believed *he could*, and got there.

On the basis of an inerrant revelation a creed is formulated which demands more than a Jesuitical acceptance from those who teach it to others, and who themselves hold the position they do, and receive its emoluments, by virtue of a solemn vow to teach that form of doctrine in the common acceptance of its terms. The Church does not make progress by fighting with herself, but by conflict with the powers of evil without. She has never become lukewarm by living up to the strictest claims of inspiration. She never loses her power for progress by holding fast to the form of sound words, and contending earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints.

FIDELITY DEMANDED.

It must be plain to every candid mind that the Church is too lax in dealing with those errorists which are within her bosom. The experience of all ages shows that heretics will not withdraw voluntarily, and that her most dangerous foes are those who

fight from within. Surgery is painful; but the member when once mortified must be removed. The dead flesh will not slough off if let alone, but will extend until it involves the whole. There is too much license allowed to the disturbers of the peace who fight under the banner of a nominal Christianity. They arrogate to themselves all its charity; and assume that, because they will freely consort with the enemies of the faith and bid God-speed to those who teach false doctrines, therefore they have the monopoly of all virtues. They are the progressive, the wide-awake, the learned, who contend against a worn-out creed maintained by orthodox stupidity. This claim is made so persistently that it wins a *quasi* acceptance by its audacity; and the Church shrinks from disputing the assumption while half apologetically defending her own precious faith. All seem to forget that it is not the loose in doctrine who carry the Church in safety through troublous times; and if it were not for those who are sound in the faith she would always be in the wilderness. Nay, more. Were it not for those who abide faithful, the heretic could have no Church to distress and grow fat by despoiling.

It was said long ago of traitors in the State: "Whence any one might see most clearly that he who especially guards his own country, and most vigorously opposes you, traitors and hirelings, he it is who procures for you the means whereby you may receive bribes; and through the multitudes of those who resist your plots, you yourselves are secure and get your price; since if it depended on you alone you would have perished long ago" (Demosthenes, De Cor., 242). In our own day we have seen that traitors can live and flourish by the rewards of their treachery only because other men more patriotic than themselves maintained the State; for if all had been equally traitorous they would have perished together with their ruined country. Even so in the Church. If it were not for the faithful believers who hold fast the form of sound words, who know from personal experience the value of true doctrine, who possess something positive for a rallying cry in advancing against indifference

or open hostility, no Church could be maintained in the world.

There is something exceedingly perverse in human nature, as shown in the treatment of those who violate law. The offender becomes the object of as much admiration as though he were the benefactor of the race. Let any miscreant commit a shameful or revolting crime. At first there is a thrill of horror, which lasts till the law lays its hands on the offender to drag him to deserved punishment, when, presto! the criminal is invested with a sort of inviolability. The very magnitude and enormity of the crime elevate the perpetrator to heroism. The great wrong to society is forgotten, while the cruelty of the law is berated. The sanctity of the criminal's life is descanted upon, while the lives taken and the families bereaved are forgotten. It is quite lost sight of that he is an outlaw by his own action, and that if such as he were multiplied they would destroy society and reduce man to a level with the brutes. The opposition to properly constituted authority appears to possess a witchery for the multitude, and at once enlists all the disorderly elements. For a consciousness that the law is their enemy and that they deserve its rigor arouses them to oppose its execution in the case of others; and hence they complain of its injustice through a secret fear of personal application.

A like influence sways all those who are loose in doctrine, causing them to co-operate with the baser sort in condemning beforehand all punitive action by ecclesiastical courts. Leaving out of view the fact that the Church is long-suffering, that every devoted Christian loves peace and shrinks from extreme measures toward brethren, the enemies of truth raise a hue and cry against any man who feels constrained, in order to protect the good name of religion, to prosecute bold errorists. Men who have no settled convictions themselves, and for that reason do not believe that anybody else has, think it personal hatred or dark bigotry which influences the prosecutor. Such is the clamor raised against that man who feels his convictions worth battling for that few are willing to face the odium of bringing

charges of false doctrine, even when it is felt that the peace of the Church is jeopardized. Added to this are the law's delay and uncertainty, especially in ecclesiastical courts: and the assurance of widespread disquiet while the trial is in progress.

But if the reluctance to prosecute be overcome, and the errorist brought to bay, instead of admitting what is evident to all, but especially to himself, that he is out of sympathy with the belief of the Church, and that he is destroying her peace, he employs all the tricks which render even political methods odious to retard the investigation of his views, and thus defeat the ends of justice. He seems oblivious of the fact that it is his duty to relieve his brethren of all trouble caused by investigating his doctrines, and that he is to blame for all the confusion which attends the infliction of Church censures. The number of those who entertain similar views with himself cannot be considered an element in the determination of his duty. The question, stripped of all disguises, is whether his views accord with the accepted creed of the body which he professes to instruct. He may have made many converts to his errors, but he cannot in justice avail himself of his own wrong to defeat the ends of justice. Others may be quite as false as he to the creed of his Church; the heresy may be widespread through his own covert action; but the multiplication of wrongs will never make them right. "To the law and to the testimony: if they speak not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them."

Thus he forces upon his brethren the ungrateful task of prosecuting one whom they probably love as a friend, albeit they hold the truth dearer than all friendship.* And when at last he departs, it is with the groans of a martyr who bears a cross laden with all the spoils he can wrest from a torn and bleeding Church. Moreover, while he is careful to take all he can with him, he is also like the harpies in defiling what he cannot devour or take away. He points to the success of his work attested by

* Aristotle, *Ethic. Nicom.*, Cap. VI. 1: ἀμφοῖν γὰρ ὄντοι φιλοῖν ὅσιον προτιμᾶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν.

the multitudes which are gathered to hear him ; while the chief reasons that move them are that he wages a free fight with the true faith which they hate ; that he ridicules as bigots those who condemn their vices ; while he makes the gate to heaven so wide, and the way so broad, that those who have neither faith nor works can enter. Thus the false teacher can always attract greater numbers than the true one because Satan has the overwhelming majority of followers in this world. Besides, crowds will follow any man possessed of notoriety, no matter from what cause it may arise. The greatest throng that can be collected is to witness the trial and execution of a desperate criminal. A dancing bear attracts more notice than one moving on all fours ; Tom Thumb, more interest than Apollo Belvidere ; Barnum's woolly horse, than Sheridan's charger. For where the carcase is there the young eagles will be gathered together. Sound doctrine goes a begging because it is disagreeable to the wicked heart, while the mock reformer prides himself on the large following which for a time soothes his exile. Meantime the Satanic Press takes a deep interest in the affairs of the Church, and makes itself the especial patron of a religion so free that it is bound by no creed, and of a charity so extensive that it embraces all except those who believe in scriptural truth. Orthodoxy is dressed in the skins of wild beasts, and all the curs of low degree are hounded on to bark at it. Still the Church moves calmly on, being quickened continually by the Holy Spirit who honors the fearless proclamation of the inspired Word. For the preaching of the Cross in the simple words of inerrant Revelation is, in every age, the power of God and the wisdom of God unto salvation. Whether it be Augustine or Anselm, Luther or Calvin, Whitfield or Edwards, Spurgeon or Moody, their ability to renew the life of the Church is measured by their fearless advocacy of the whole Word of God. Such doctrine abides in its power to save ; it is the hope of the Church and the world ; and is able to endure all opposition, even the covert assaults of false brethren.

IX.

REASONS FOR BELIEVING IMMERSION NOT ESSENTIAL TO BAPTISM.

BY REV. CHARLES C. STARBUCK, D.D.

ONE of the great arguments for Immersion, apart from the use of the word βαπτίζω, is drawn from the two allusions of Paul to burial and resurrection with Christ in baptism, as found in Rom. 6: 3 and Col. 2: 12. That these really are allusions to the customary practice of immersion, I, of course, do not doubt. But though they thus attach a beautiful spiritual significance to the usual mode of administering baptism, it by no means follows that this is the primary significance of the rite. On the contrary, the more numerous passages of the more numerous authors plainly give it the meaning of ablution. Thus: John 3: 25, "Then there arose a question between some of John's disciples and the Jews about purifying. And they came to John, and said unto him, Rabbi, he that was with thee beyond Jordan, to whom thou barest witness, behold, the same baptizeth, and all men come unto him."

Acts 22: 16, "And now why tarriest thou? Arise and be baptized, and wash away thy sins, calling on the name of the Lord."

Eph. 5: 26, "That He might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water by the word." The application of this to Baptism is denied by many, but apparently through an overstrained spiritualism. De Wette—than whom there cannot well be higher authority—refers it to Baptism, as well as the next, which is Titus 3: 5, "Not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to his mercy He saved us, by

the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost." In both these texts "washing" is more properly "bath."

Heb. 10: 22, "Let us draw near with a true heart in full assurance of faith, having our hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience, and our bodies washed with pure water." This, as De Wette says, though it includes more than Baptism, undoubtedly includes that.

1 Peter 3: 21, "The like figure whereunto even baptism doth also now save us (not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience toward God) by the resurrection of Jesus Christ." Here ablution is expressly named as the outward form of the rite.

Ablution, therefore, appears as the reigning signification of Baptism in the New Testament, while the idea of Burial appears as a beautiful secondary suggestion, derived from the usual mode of its administration.

With this the antecedent history of the rite is in agreement. It did not originate in the Christian Church, but passed into it from the previous baptism of John. Now his baptism was the baptism of repentance, symbolizing, on the very face of it, the washing away of sin. There is no reason to refer the form of it to the mystery of Christ's death. This was not yet revealed, and nevertheless there is among the Jews no expression of surprise at the form of his baptism. They ask John: "Why baptizest thou?" but not: "What does this new rite mean?" Their question implies familiarity with Baptism, as a purificatory rite, but doubt as to John's authority to administer it. Indeed, if they did not already know baptism, from whence have they derived their proselyte baptism, which also is or once was a complete immersion? We cannot well suppose that they borrowed it from the hated Christians. And immersion with them cannot have referred to burial with Christ.

Baptism, in fact, is simply a concentration of the purificatory washings of the Law. None of these, as we know, were necessarily immersions, yet in Hebrews 9: 10 they are, in the Greek,

all called Baptisms, showing that the word was already applied to all forms of religious ablution.

Purification by washing, indeed, answering to the sense of defilement, as sacrifice does to the sense of guilt, has prevailed in almost all religions, true or false. To throw aside these evident and deeply rooted analogies, confirmed, moreover, by express New Testament authority, seems to imply third-party zeal, seeing only the points that make for its own position, and neglecting many more, and those much stronger ones, on the other side.

Allowing, however, that Baptism is only a *ceremonial ablution*, is it legitimate to administer it otherwise than by Immersion? The chief arguments for the exclusive legitimacy of this mode are the following, which I do not name in the order of their relative importance, but of convenience. It is contended,—

(1) That Immersion has the advantage of superior expressiveness.

(2) That it is enforced by the authority of our Lord.

(3) That βαπτίζω means that, and nothing else.

The latter assertion can hardly be maintained in view of Heb. 9: 10. However, Dr. Edward Beecher's book appears convincing on that point. So, referring to that, I will examine the first argument.

Immersion is undoubtedly, in itself, the most expressive form of baptism. This alone sets it fully forth as what it properly is, something that marks the great spiritual epoch of Regeneration. But a rite by becoming less expressive does not thereby cease to be the same rite. As the scattered and partial washings of the law were in baptism by immersion gathered up into the one great "Bath of Regeneration," so, starting from this, lesser ablutions, though less expressively significant, have still the same significance. Now needlessly to diminish the expressiveness of a ceremony, is reprehensible; but it is widely different from destroying its essence. If purification is the *meaning* of Baptism, then it should appear that ablution, in any form,

contains its essence, unless, indeed, it be expressly restricted to that one mode, which I shall presently consider.

Now, while undoubtedly the most expressive form of a rite meant to be used but once, ought to be employed, unless there is some strong reason to the contrary, the use of a less expressive form is not, of itself, a sufficient reason for repeating it in the fuller one. Supposing that I regard the Episcopalian rite of marriage as the most perfect, or, on the other hand, the Quaker rite (and each is singularly beautiful in its way), I am by no means thereby justified, if I find a couple have not been married by my favorite rite, in remarrying them, if they have been united by some rite that implies the essence of the matrimonial covenant.

But waiving now the question of propriety, we have before us the vital question of divine authority. If our Lord, in His last command, used a term equivalent to βαπτίζω, and if βαπτίζω signifies only to *immerse*, how can we conclude otherwise than that Jesus has expressly limited Christian baptism to this one mode?

This argument would have more weight if our Lord had been instituting a new rite, and in naming it had for the first time appropriated a previously secular word to a religious use. But seeing Christ did no such thing, seeing he simply transferred into the service of His Church an already existing rite, just as He found it, under the same name and the same form, I cannot see that his authority can be introduced as a new element into the question. Our Lord, in commanding His people to diffuse the new dispensation of the Spirit over the earth, has not descended to the level of a Levitical lawgiver, minutely prescribing every circumstance of an outward ceremony. He has simply consecrated to a new application an expression of discipleship already in use, without stopping to make a single remark, or a single change in the rite itself. Unless, therefore, immersion were previously essential to the rite, it would not be so in consequence of any precept of Christ. The rite, in the Church, has a new application but all questions respecting its form remain as they were before.

Now if Immersion were of the essence of Baptism, as existing at the time when it was taken up by Christ, it must be because (1) βαπτίζω had no other meaning than to immerse, and (2) because this meaning designated the very essence of the rite.

As to the first assumption, referring to the treatment of it in Dr. Edward Beecher's book, and conceding for the present, that βαπτίζω means only "to dip." I by no means see that this indicates Immersion to be an essential element of Baptism. Let me explain my meaning by reference to the other sacrament. The Lord's Supper is twice in the Acts denoted by the technical term "to break bread." If we suppose now that in this way, as might easily have happened, the Greek compound term "Artoklasm" had become a settled designation of the Lord's Supper, then the very name of the rite would have included the mention of Bread. But the churches of the Sandwich Islands, not having bread, formerly used taro root. They did not feel bound to defer the celebration of Christ's redeeming love until a ship could bring them bread from half round the world, and perhaps be wrecked on the way. But if Artoklasm, literally signifying the Breaking of Bread, had been the name of the rite, they would have retained it though breaking no bread. A technical word may deviate into a new application, without becoming untruthful, although good proof must be offered that the technical name does not include the very essence of the thing. This I have endeavored to do above. Language is full of these deviations. The common name of the Eucharist, namely, the Lord's Supper, is a proof that a sacrament may have a name which includes a non-essential circumstance. The first communion was celebrated at night; but we feel free to celebrate it in the morning. Yet we are accustomed still to call it the Lord's Supper. Allowing then,—what Dr. Beecher shows not to be the case, and what Hebrews ix: 10 shows not to be the case—that Baptism always means immersion, it does not follow that if we change the mode, we are bound to change the name. Baptism, in this

view, expresses the essence of the rite, namely, Religious Ablution, and a subordinate circumstance of the rite, namely, ablution by plunging. It would therefore be lawful to obtain a name that had become technical, even if the subordinate circumstance were neglected.

Immersion, in the baptism of adults, I regard as certainly the most expressive mode. And though personally much attached to Infant Baptism, I listen with profound deference to the Pedobaptist, Richard Rothe, when he urges as an argument of some force against it that infants cannot well be immersed. Yet there appear to be many circumstances in which higher interests dictate a departure from this mode of administration. And once regarding it not as a question of absolute command, but of greater or less perfection of form, we should not, even if we abstractly preferred it, necessarily feel bound to insist upon it. In reference to a question of subordinate rank, as I have endeavored to show this to be, considerations of Christian prudence and Christian unity may well be allowed a controlling force. And if we, by disusing immersion, have diminished the expressiveness of Baptism, the Baptists, in their over-zealousness for it, have incurred the danger of losing the ordinance altogether. If any circumstance is essential to the Christian ablution, we should suppose it to be the purity of the water, that, as Scripture directs, our bodies should be washed with "*pure waters*." But many, I might perhaps say most, of the Baptists, in their zeal for the *mode*, have so completely lost sight of the substance, as often to deny that the rite refers to ablution at all, and accordingly they will frequently baptize in the most thick and muddy water. Now surely a little clean water is better than a great deal of dirty water. A very scrupulous ritual conscience might well hesitate to acknowledge the baptism of a great many Baptists.

There are considerations lying back of the minute and mousing criticism which is often invoked as the arbiter of this dispute. Not that I would disparage verbal criticism: I am well aware that questions of much greater moment than the

mode of baptism are often assisted, though seldom decided, by it. Still, in the Church of Christ, questions of ceremonial usage ought to be regulated by a continual remembrance of the true nature of the Gospel. We are hardly led to expect that a religion for all countries and circumstances would be encumbered with a ritual of Levitical inflexibility. Doubtless we are bound to maintain its few ceremonies in their essential identity, nor wantonly, in lesser circumstances, to depart from primitive usage. It is, however, to be expected that, in the free development of the Church, diversities of usage should arise, which, being neither commanded nor forbidden by the Scriptures, may well enough be discussed, but ought not to be made occasions of division or of uneasy scruples. Indeed, even in more important matters than the form of a ceremony, minute and worrying scruples are no sign of moral health. In the New Testament we do not find a tone of painful scrupulosity. Ceremonial questions can hardly be said to occur in it, so completely are they swallowed up and absorbed in moral and spiritual ones. I cannot recall a New Testament allusion to a properly ritual controversy, except to discourage it. This certainly is not a reason why we should not come to a persuasion upon such points; but it is a warning to us that we ought not to determine questions of the New Economy upon principles borrowed from the Old.

These are the reasons why I do not now regard Immersion, though primitive and expressive, as the only legitimate form of Christian Baptism. It is well to settle down upon a persuasion on one side or the other, and there really does not seem to be substance enough in the question to render it important that we should make any great stir about it on either side. An eminent French Protestant lately visited Scotland, and in scorn of their exaggerated ecclesiastical disputes said: "You here in Scotland are quarrelling over the question whether organs ought to be used in churches: we in France over the question whether there is a God." To establish ourselves in the faith of the Incarnate God by receiving the fulness of His Spirit; to

cleanse hypocrisy, rapacity, dishonesty, oppressiveness, pride of wealth, pride of knowledge, unhelpful selfishness, and hidden murderousness out of His sanctuary; to strengthen ourselves and our brethren against the danger of being brought to worship some atheistic idol of unconscious law in the very temple of the Living God; to guard ourselves against the lying wonders and the false prophets that are filling the world; to make known the name of the Son of God throughout that earth for which He has died, and over which He is yet to reign; to assist in disentangling His vital and essential truth from its almost hopeless implication with the fallacies of men; to live as those to whom the consciousness of eternal life begun makes the possessions of earth sit loose, and who in otherwise than vague and empty phrase look for the full solution of the perplexities of earth in the coming of the Lord from heaven, is too great a work to leave much time for the mere fringes of Christian duty.

X.

CHRISTIANITY IN OLD JAPAN.

BY REV. T. ROMEYN BECK, D.D.

THE form of Christianity first introduced into Japan was Roman Catholicism. In 1542, Mendez Pinto, the Portuguese navigator, more fortunate than Columbus, discovered Zipangu, and made his discovery known to Europe. As usual, the missionary followed close in the track of the discoverer. Francis Xavier, the Jesuit, friend and follower of Loyola, landed at Kagoshima, in Satsuma, the southern province of Kiushiu, seven years later. He was accompanied by his disciple, Anjiro, a native of that province, converted at Malacca, after leaving Goa, and two other Jesuit priests. From Satsuma he traveled north through Bungo, crossed into Hondo, and made his headquarters in the "Kingdom of Amanguzium," Yamaguchi, in the province of Suwo. Everywhere he preached the Gospel with intense earnestness in the face of great obstacles, not the least being ignorance of the language and the poverty of his dress and surroundings. After a stay of two years (1549-1551), he left the field, though by his Christian spirit and devotion to his work meriting the title "Apostle of Japan." Later the seed sown by this great and good man sprang up into a plentiful harvest.

The form of Xavier looms up grandly among the pioneers of the Gospel in those early days of Jesuitism. His personal history is typical and full of interest. Of a noble Navarrese family, at the age of twenty he was appointed to the Chair of Philosophy in the College de Beauvais. Among his pupils was Ignatius Loyola, who had already conceived the idea of the

Order of which he afterwards became the head. The scholar gained such influence over the teacher that Xavier abandoned the prospects of scholastic fame, resigned his professorship, and entered heart and soul into the schemes of his friend. The Order of Jesus was founded in 1540 by a bull of Pope Paul III. Soon after, fired with religious zeal, choosing a life of privation and hardship, Xavier, leaving home and friends, sailed from Lisbon to India and the Far East. His success at Goa, the capital of Portuguese India, was phenomenal. Thence he journeyed to Malacca and later to Japan. Soon after leaving this country he was seized with fever, the result of long exposure, and died, solitary and alone, deserted even by the ship's company, on a little island near Macao, at the age of 46.

The period of the introduction, growth and downfall of Christianity in Japan synchronizes with many wonderful events in Europe. It was one of those epochs in the world's history when the human mind overleaps the barriers of time and space, like some mighty torrent—epochs when God's "increasing purpose" is most clearly seen. The capture of Constantinople and the victorious career of the "unspeakable Turk," strangely enough, mark the breaking up of the Middle Ages and the dawn of the Renaissance. Learned Greeks were scattered throughout Italy and the Levant; famous universities were founded; the chairs of literature and science were filled with able teachers; the young men, always the first to come into touch with the spirit of the age, and to stand in the vanguard of progress, flocked by thousands to the great seats of learning. A spirit of enterprise and adventure such as the world has not seen before or since, awoke. The mariner's compass was improved and adapted to long voyages. Spain and Portugal, in the south of Europe, the Netherlands and England, in the north, led the nations. America was discovered. The art of printing with metal types was invented. The fine arts revived and flourished; Da Vinci, Raphael, Michael Angelo, Corregio painted. The pen of Cervantes, with its pungent satire, gave the finishing stroke to chivalry and knight-errantry, with their

train of absurdities. James Buchanan, in his travels nearly two centuries before, had predicted in the east of Japan the coming down of the degenerate Japanese with the sword. German monk, Martin Luther, was in this age of faith movement to make real.

While these great events were taking place in Europe, Japan was in the throes of revolution. For a strange coincidence, the latter half of the sixteenth century was characterized by the most important social and political changes in her history. The wars of the clans, that had lasted with little intermission for five centuries, from the days of Yoda Tennō, the seventy-fourth Mikado, were brought to an end. Feudalism was consolidated and systematized. The line of the Tokugawa Shoguns—the Augustan age of Old Japan—was established contemporaneously with the accession of the House of Stuart in England. This is not the place for even a hasty sketch of the political history of Japan. We are concerned at present only with the religious phase.

Three of the greatest men Japan has produced were chief actors in the Christian drama. These were Nobunaga, Hideyoshi and Ieyasu. Of this famous trio the first favored, the last two persecuted Christianity.

Ota Nobunaga's work 1568-82 was constructive, that of a peacemaker. Under the weak Ashikaga Shoguns, who had held power for two centuries and a half, the people had been greatly oppressed and impoverished. Powerful Daimios carried on constant war with one another. The Mikado, shut up in his palace at Kyōtō, and to be seen only by his court ladies and the higher kuge or nobles, was a mere puppet in the hands of unscrupulous Shoguns. Nobunaga deposed Yoshiaki, the last of the Ashikaga line, overawed the daimios and secured control of a number of rich fiefs,—thus beginning the consolidation and centralization of power completed by Ieyasu,—administering the government in the name of the Mikado, though himself the power behind the throne. Finding the Buddhist priesthood an obstacle to the successful execution of his plans by their un-

moral lives, indifference to the religious wants of the common people and servility to the powerful lords, he subjected them to a bitter persecution, slaying many and destroying their monasteries. Finding the Jesuits, on the other hand, kind to the poor, engrossed in their Christian work and living abstemious lives, he treated them with favor. This he did not from belief in their doctrines, but simply as a measure of state policy. Many churches were built and many natives converted, the number of adherents reaching, it is said, 150,000 in Kiushiu, Shikoku and Southern Hondo. Nay, such was the favor that Christianity found among the rich and powerful that the very year of Nobunaga's death an embassy was sent by the Christian Daimios of Bungo, Omura and Arima to Rome and Madrid to kiss the toe of Pope Gregory XIII. and pay their respects to Philip II.

Toyotomi Hideyoshi, the friend and retainer of Nobunaga, reversed the policy of his predecessor toward the Christians. He saw or thought he saw in the Jesuits designs inimical to the independence of Japan. In 1587, five years after his accession to power, a decree was published commanding the foreign missionaries to quit the country within twenty days. Persecutions soon broke out against the native Christians. In 1597 three Portuguese Jesuits, six Spanish Franciscans and seventeen native Christians were put to death at Nagasaki.

Hideyoshi died in 1598, and was succeeded by Tokugawa Ieyasu, the organizer and legislator,—Justinian of Japan. During his administration and those of his son and grandson, Hidetada and Ieyemidzu, Christianity was persecuted and finally extirpated. The number of Christians in the first years of Ieyasu amounted to 600,000. This able Shogun seems to have been disposed at first to tolerate Christianity, in conformity to his mild character and policy. Presently, however, owing to many influences, one of which was the representations of the Dutch, who, at this time, came to Japan to establish commercial relations, and soon afterwards for the sake of the profitable Japanese trade which they succeeded in monopolizing, con-

sented to be pigeon-holed in Deshima, a little plot of ground 600 by 200 feet in the bay of Nagasaki,—he was led to enforce the old decrees and issue new ones. Under these the Christians were destroyed in every form savage cruelty could invent, nearly always meeting death with heroic constancy. The records of these times vividly recall similar scenes enacted under the Roman emperors. Says one account, "We read of Christians being executed in a barbarous manner in sight of each other, of their being buried alive, of their being torn asunder by oxen, of their being tied up in rice bags which were heaped up together and the piles thus formed set on fire. Others were tortured before death by insertion of sharp spikes under the nails of their hands and feet, while some poor wretches by a refinement of horrid cruelty were shut up in cages and thus left to starve with food before their eyes."

The bloody tragedy was closed by what is known in history as the "Massacre of Shimabara,"—a town in the province of Hizen, Kiushiu, to which the Christian peasants had fled in desperation and seized the castle, raising the standard of revolt against their persecutors. The castle was taken and a wholesale slaughter ensued, 30,000 perishing. In the entrance to the harbor of Nagasaki stands a little wooded island with a steep cliff rising sheer out of the sea. From the top of this cliff thousands of Christians, the last remnant of Christianity in Old Japan, captured in the siege of Arima (1677), were hurled into the deep.

These later annals carry us back in thought to the massacres of Protestants in Piedmont happening about the same time and earlier. Here, in Europe, such are the strange compensations of history, the Church persecuted in Japan becomes the persecutor. Do not the groans and shrieks from the rock of Pappenberg seem like bloody answers to the prayer of Milton :

"Avenge, O Lord, Thy slaughtered saints,
Whose bones lie scattered upon Alpine mountains cold;
E'en those who kept Thy truth so pure of old,
When all our fathers worshiped stocks and stones."

The length of this article forbids us to consider many interesting questions. Two or three remarks, however, must be made, results of some historical study and personal intercourse of six years.

1. The spread of Christianity among the Japanese was very rapid, bringing to mind the triumphs of the Gospel in Europe in the first centuries. Dr. Rein in his exhaustive work on Japan assigns as causes—the degeneracy of Buddhism in the last days of the Ashinagas; the moral lives and zealous propagandism of the Jesuits; the social misery of the common people inclining them to embrace a religion which offered supreme happiness in the future state; the similarity of Roman Catholic rites and ceremonies to those of Buddhism, their ancient faith; and last, the eagerness of the Shoguns and leading Daimios to introduce European civilization of which Pinto had brought gunpowder and firearms as the first fruits. Doubtless the last exerted the greatest influence, inducing many of the leaders to seek to change the policy of seclusion and favor the presence of foreigners, regarded as bringers of material benefits. The situation was remarkably like that which preceded the entrance of Protestant missions into Japan in recent days, and which has followed them with public favor down to the late re-action. Then as now the intelligent classes cared very little for religion in itself, but very much for its accompaniments, education and physical conveniences. The typical Japanese is governed by the head, not the heart, as Count Nonoura, once naively remarked to the writer in conversation about Protestant Christianity.

2. Has that strange passage in Japanese history left no trace upon the people? Has this hundred years (1549–1677) of zealous Christian labor at whose head stands the noble figure of Xavier,—this sincere if in many aspects mistaken propagandism,—these holocausts of inoffensive victims left no impression, passed away as completely as the old Etruscans of Italy? There seems to be a consensus among foreign writers that such is the case. It may be so. But apart from the fact

that descendants of old Romish converts have been found in our day here and there—notably at Urakami, a village near Nagasaki, where to the great surprise of the Japanese government a large congregation of Roman Catholic Christians was found in 1868,—we do not know what influence this Christian episode may have had on their national life. Somewhere in family records or in the annals of obscure villages and distant provinces, or in folk lore—that repository of the odds and ends of history,—may linger reminiscences of those times, still forming an active though, perhaps, insignificant factor in Japanese life. It must not be forgotten that Japanese civilization is an unsolved problem. After forty years of study and investigation since the days of Perry, after the legion of books that have been and are being written on Japan, the modes of thought, the secret springs of action, in short the genius of the people, which is reflected in national history, is an unknown quantity. The difficulty of the language in which their written and printed records are contained is one cause—the number of foreigners who have thoroughly mastered the Japanese dialect may almost be counted on the fingers. But the chief cause is the peculiar structure of the Japanese mind which conceives and formulates conceptions in a manner totally different from or even contrary to the Occidental. It is easy to trace the line of Mikados, of the successive Shogunates and their acts, to lay the finger on this element of civilization or on that,—just as it is easy to analyze the stamens and pistil and petals of the flower, but to give a notion of the delicate aroma in the one case or to catch the subtle spirit of the people in the other,—*hic labor, hoc opus est*.

3. The history of Christianity in Old Japan contains a warning for modern missions. Our Lord proclaimed the watchword of the Gospel when He said, “My kingdom is not of this world.” Romanism showed herself an apostate church when she ignored this watchword and assumed temporal sovereignty. Jesuitism in Japan played the same rôle, interfering in affairs of State and aiming ultimately to bring the Japanese under

papal control. The astute Shoguns soon perceived this, and the persecutions were the natural result. Hideyoshi and his successors had no fault to find with the religious and ethical aspects of Christianity—worship of the true God, kindness and charity to the poor—their quarrel was with its political proclivities. But for this, the Christians would, doubtless, have been unmolested and Japan might have been Roman Catholic to-day.

XI.

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

THE EXHAUSTIVE CONCORDANCE OF THE BIBLE. Showing every word of the text of the Common English Version of the Canonical Books, and every occurrence of each word in regular order, together with a comparative concordance of the Authorized and Revised Versions, including the American Variations: also brief Dictionaries of the Hebrew and Greek Words of the Original, with Reference to the English Words. By James Strong, S.T.D., LL. D. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curtis, 1894. Price, \$6.00.

We have examined this work with considerable care, and have found it not only very satisfactory, but also very interesting and instructive. Its merits are such, indeed, that it leaves little room for further improvement. Of all the Concordances of the Holy Scriptures that have as yet been published it is, in our opinion, the very best, and should have a place on every minister's study table. It is, as it claims to be, truly exhaustive. Every word found in the Authorized and Revised Versions of the Canonical Scriptures is to be found in it, and every occurrence of each word is given in regular order. If any word in any passage of Scripture therefore is certainly known, the place where the passage occurs can readily be found. In this respect it is absolutely complete and surpasses every other concordance in our language. The Comparative Concordance of the Authorized and Revised Versions which it contains also enables the reader to study the two versions in the most thorough and satisfactory manner, and to judge understandingly of their respective merits. By means of the brief Dictionaries of the Hebrew and Greek words of the Original Scriptures, and a simple system of reference numbers, moreover, any reader, whether scholar or otherwise, is enabled to ascertain not only the Hebrew, Chaldee or Greek Word of which any significant word in the ordinary English Version is the translation, but likewise the exact form, precise pronunciation, and various meanings, both essential and derived, of the Hebrew, Chaldee or Greek word. He can also at a glance tell whether the English word in the various places in which it is used stands for the same word in the original, or for different words. It thus puts within the reach of every one who possesses it, the means of making a very thorough study of any portion of Scripture that may claim his attention.

THE HOLMAN NEW SELF-PRONOUNCING SUNDAY-SCHOOL TEACHERS' BIBLE, CONTAINING THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS. Translated out of the Original Tongues : and with the former translations diligently compared and revised. The text conformable to that of the Oxford Bible, printed at the University Press, Oxford. Bourgeois, 8 vo., refs. Philadelphia: A. J. Holman & Co., Ltd. 1894.

Of the various Sunday-school Teachers' Bibles now before the public, we consider this by far the most desirable. Its merits are many. Its size is convenient, and its general appearance attractive. It is printed on thin yet strong paper, and in large, clear type which is very easily read and very grateful to the eye. Every proper name in the text, moreover, is syllabified and accented, and the many variable vowels and consonants are diacritically marked according to the most reliable modern standards of pronunciation. As there are very few persons who can at sight correctly pronounce all the proper names in the Bible, this will be found a great help by most persons in reading aloud the Scriptures. In addition to the text of the Old and New Testaments, this edition also contains newly prepared "Illustrated Aids and Helps," which give a vast amount of important information on biblical subjects, which will prove very helpful to teachers generally. These "Aids and Helps" are substantially the same as those found in the latest edition of the Oxford Bible, and therefore fully up to the present state of biblical knowledge. We heartily commend the work to all our readers, and feel sure that all who purchase it will be greatly pleased with it.

THE SECOND BOOK OF KINGS. By F. W. Farrar, D.D., F.R.S., late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge ; Archdeacon of Westminster. New York : A. C. Armstrong & Son, 51 East Tenth Street. 1894. Price, \$1.50.

THE EPISTLE OF ST. PAUL TO THE ROMANS. By Handley C. G. Moule, M.A., Principal of Ridley Hall, Cambridge. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 51 East Tenth Street. 1894. Price, \$1.50.

Both these volumes belong to the series known as "The Expositor's Bible." They are also both works of superior merit, and will prove a valuable addition to any library. In our opinion they are to be classed among the best volumes of the series.

Dr. Farrar is always brilliant and readable. In his exposition of the Second Book of Kings there is, consequently, nothing dull, tedious or inane. On the contrary, he brings out the historical incidents of the book in a most interesting and striking manner. His work throughout reads like a stirring romance. All may not be able to agree with him in his interpretation of certain portions of the inspired record, but all must be impressed with his reverent treatment of it, and with the scholarly manner in which he presents his views concerning it. The point of view which, to a great extent, colors the entire exposition is that of the follow-

ing words of the Bishop of Derry, with which Dr. Farrar prefaces his work: "Theories of inspiration which impaginate the everlasting Spirit, and make each verse a cluster of objectless and mechanical miracles, are not seriously believed by any one; the Bible itself abides in its endless power and unexhausted truth. All that is not asbestos is being burned away by the restless fires of thought and criticism. That which remains is enough, and it is indestructible."

Of the Epistles of St. Paul, that to the Romans is the most important and most systematic. It may, therefore, properly be called the Apostle's masterpiece. Of this Epistle Principal Moule's exposition is a fitting one. It is, also, in our opinion, a masterpiece. For clear apprehension of the Apostle's meaning and for eloquent setting forth of his teaching, it is unequalled by any other work with which we are acquainted. No one, we think, can read it without being deeply moved by the great truths which the Apostle proclaimed, and without feeling thankful to the author for making these truths so clear and impressive.

THE GOSPEL OF ST. MATTHEW. By Alexander Maclaren, D.D. In two volumes. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. 1894. Price, \$1.00 per volume.

THE GOSPEL OF ST. MARK. By Alexander Maclaren, D.D. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. 1894. Price, \$1.00.

THE GOSPEL OF ST. LUKE. By Alexander Maclaren, D.D. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. 1894. Price, \$1.00.

THE GOSPEL OF ST. JOHN. By Alexander Maclaren, D.D. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 51 East Tenth Street, near Broadway. 1894. Price, \$1.00.

These volumes belong to a new and important series of works by Dr. Maclaren, designated "Bible Class Expositions," and they are specially intended for the instruction of teachers and scholars in Sunday-Schools and Bible Classes. They are made up of the expositions of the International Sunday-School Lessons originally prepared for the *Sunday-School Times*, from which they are reprinted with the concurrence of the proprietors. All these expositions are marked by the characteristic clearness and force for which their author is noted, and are rich with instructive and impressive thought. They are, indeed, in every respect models of Scripture exposition, and deserve to be studied as such by all whose office it is to make known the Word of God as given to men in the Holy Scriptures. All classes of persons will find them profitable reading, and a careful study of these volumes especially cannot but give clearer views of Christ and His teachings.

WAS THE APOSTLE PETER EVER AT ROME? A Critical Examination of the Evidence and Arguments presented on Both Sides of the Question. By Rev. Mason Gallagher, D.D., Author of "True Churchmanship Vindicated," "The Duty and Necessity of Revision," "A Chapter of Unwritten History," "The True Historic Episcopate." Introduction by Rev. John Hall, D.D., Pastor Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church, New York. New York: Printed by Hunt & Eaton, 150 Fifth Avenue. 1894. Price, \$1.00

The question discussed in this volume is an old one. Different answers have been given to it in the past, and no doubt will be given to it in the future, as there is no evidence by which it can with absolute certainty be determined. Nothing, we are disposed to think, depends on the answer given one way or another. If St. Peter was at Rome this does not necessarily establish the doctrine of the Papacy, nor does his not having been there necessarily disprove it. For our part we believe the weight of the testimony is in favor of his having been there. Dr. Gallagher, however, thinks otherwise. Those who desire to know what can be said on his side of the question will find his book a valuable one. It is well written and considers the subject in a calm and judicial manner.

PAUL'S LETTER TO THE COLOSSIANS. Written A.D. 63. Transcribed by J. M. Pascoe, B.D., Member of Pittsburg Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. New York: Hunt & Eaton, Cincinnati; Cranston & Curtis. 1894. Price, 20 cents.

This is a booklet of forty-six pages, and belongs to "The Book of Books Series." It is made up of two parts. The first part consists of the Epistle to the Colossians freely rendered into modern English. The second part consists of Notes on the Epistle. The transcript was awarded the prize offered by Chancellor W. F. McDowell, Ph.D., of the University of Denver, Colorado, for the best version of Colossians, re-written, not re-translated, in modern language and style. The Notes have since been added by the author. They are judicious and instructive. Both the transcript and notes will repay study.

THE DISEASES OF THE WILL. By Th. Ribot, Professor of Comparative and Experimental Psychology in the College of France. Authorized Translation from the Eighth French Edition by Merwin-Marie Snell. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company. 1894. Price, 75 cents.

This is an important treatise, and deserves the attention of all who are interested in Psychological study. The subject of it is in itself a most interesting one, and the treatment of it is very able. In his own line of study Prof. Ribot has few, if any equals, and therefore is always instructive. No one, we feel assured, can read the short monograph before us without gathering something of value from it.

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I.

THE SCHOLAR'S MISSION.

BY REV. W. RUPP, D.D.

WE are accustomed to say that education is its own end, and that it is to be pursued for its own sake. Knowledge is to be desired, not because knowledge is power which the possessor may either turn to his own account in a selfish way, or use beneficently in the service of his fellow-men, but because it is a good in itself. There is truth in this representation. Knowledge has value for the subject possessing it independently of any utilitarian end which it may be made to subserve. It contributes to the proper development of the human soul—yea, it is the indispensable condition of such development. Education is in a high sense *the making of the man*. It is the actualization of the possibilities of manhood, which the individual involves by nature and which constitute his original and peculiar essence. God Himself never creates a finished soul. He only creates a potential soul; and this potential soul is required to actualize itself, or to become an actual soul, by its own effort, under the pressure of outward stimulations. Education, then,

—the bringing out or unfolding of the soul's native energies—is a part of the process of its self-actualization, and has its primary value in this end. The acquisition of knowledge, accordingly, the pursuit of science, the study of language, of mathematics, or of history, have their primary end, not in any utilitarian purpose outside of the man, but in the perfect development of the man himself.

This may be regarded as a correct representation of the end of education in general; but we cannot accept it as a sufficient view of that liberal culture or scholarship, which it is the design of the higher institutions of learning to promote. It may be applicable to the education afforded to all the children of the State in its common or public schools; but it can hardly be applicable to that afforded by the colleges and universities, of whose advantages, in the nature of the case, only a very small percentage of the children of the State can ever avail themselves. If, nevertheless, the Church and State unite in founding and supporting such institutions by means of funds collected from the whole people, this can be justifiable only on the supposition that the advantages of education here afforded to the few, shall be made somehow to accrue to the benefit of the many. These institutions are not founded and maintained merely for the purpose of enabling the comparatively small number of students who find their way into them, to develop their individual capacities and to make men of themselves. Or does it require so much more labor and expense to make men of the few favored youths who get into college, than of the many young people to whom such privilege is denied? That supposition would not be the most flattering to the capacity of college and university students. If the object were simply to develop their individual manhood, and to make of them good men, good citizens, good members of society, good husbands, good fathers, that would be nothing more than is expected of the many thousands of boys who are never so fortunate as to see the inside of a college; and for the attainment of that object it should not be necessary for the Church and State to expend the

large sums of money which are now invested in institutions of liberal education. Liberal education, then, must have an end apart from the mere personal perfection of the student; or, scholarship must have an end and mission apart from the personality and personal advantage of the scholar.

What is that end, and what is that mission? This question is not just the same as the question concerning the vocation or immediate employment of the scholar. Scholarly vocations, or professions, are many and various. There is, for example, the profession of the minister, the lawyer, the physician, the journalist, the author, the teacher; each of which requires special preparation on the part of its incumbent, and a higher degree of education than that which is required by men in the ordinary walks of life. Each, moreover, has a special object in view and promotes special interests. The minister preaches the Gospel, attends to the duties of religion, and is supposed to be in some sense a conservator of the morals of society; the lawyer defends the legal rights of the members of the social body; the physician heals diseases, and acts as the guardian of health; the journalist collects and disseminates news, and assists in the formation of public opinion; and the teacher is engaged in the training of the young and rising generation of citizens. And for these services they are paid what is supposed to be a fair remuneration. But if the pay were always a strict equivalent for the services rendered, then, when the fee is paid, society would have discharged its debt, and would be under no further obligation to the man of knowledge. Besides, the man of knowledge would, in that case, simply be selling his knowledge as a common commodity for his personal benefit, just as other commodities are sold.

But, while it is admitted that the services of professional men and scholars should be liberally rewarded, it is generally felt, nevertheless, that the conduct of professional life in a mercenary spirit is something unworthy of professional dignity. Each of the learned professions, it is felt, has an end outside of the personality and apart from the personal advantage of the

individual by whom it is practiced. This, indeed, may be said to be true of every calling and every occupation in life. The merchant in selling his goods, the mechanic in performing his work, and the farmer in raising his crops, must not be governed in his activity merely by motives of self-interest, but by considerations also of the common good of humanity. This at least is the Christian, and, as we believe, also the supremely rational view of human life. In all departments of human life is applicable the saying of the apostle Paul, in which he bids Christian men, not to be looking each merely to his own things, but also to the things of others. But if this be true of the humblest laborer, how much more must it be true of the scholar, who owes so much of what he is to the gratuitous favor of society! The skill of the physician, the shrewdness of the lawyer, the eloquence of the preacher, and the wisdom of the statesman do not exist merely for their individual benefit, to be converted into as much money as they will bring in the market. That is an utterly unworthy conception of a scholar's mission. Think of a minister of the Gospel preaching merely for money, and selling his services always for what they will bring in the highest market! But really that is no worse than if the lawyer, the physician, or the politician does the same thing. And what shall we say of the scientist, who owes so much of his genius and of his opportunities to the society which has made him, but loads down his inventions with patents until they become a curse instead of a blessing to the community? *

* We do not mean to question the propriety or justice of the services of the inventor being rewarded on the part of society by means of a patent. Every man ought to enjoy the fruits of his own labor, but no more; and every man ought to pay something to society for its trouble with him. We have seen the proposition maintained in all seriousness that, if two hunters could each kill six birds a day by means of slings, and one of them should invent a bow by the use of which each could kill six birds more a day, the inventor would thereafter always be entitled to the six additional birds killed by his companion, for after giving them up the latter would be no worse off than he was before the invention was made. This reasoning might be valid if the inventor were without father, without mother, without kindred and without race. But since he is a member of a race which has done so much for him, and without

There is, then, an end or purpose of all the learned professions, or rather of the learning, the scholarship belonging to the professions, which is different from the immediate advantage which these may bring to the practitioners, and different even from the immediate services which the latter may render to the individual members of society, in so far as these services may be paid for with money. That end is a common one—an end that is common to all scholarship in whatever form or profession it may be employed; and that end lies in humanity itself in its solidarity, and consists in the continuous development and progressive perfectionment of humanity. The end of liberal education, then, is not merely the making of the men who are educated, but it is the making of the race. It is the scholar's mission to labor in the making of humanity—in the advancement of Man physically, intellectually, morally and spiritually.

It has been said that "the proper study of mankind is man."* In the contrasted sense of the poet who first uttered it, this proposition may not be true. It is not true that God and His mind are wholly beyond human comprehension, and that therefore men's thoughts should be occupied entirely about man and about human affairs. If God can not be known, then man can not be known either; for then there is no ground for the explanation either of man's origin or destiny. The poet's proposition, then, is not true in a sense that would rule out all effort to know God and His ways. Nor is it true in such sense as would make the study and knowledge of external nature to be either without interest or value. The study of nature has its importance for us, not only because it leads to enlarged power over nature, which may be made tributary to our physical comfort, but also because, by the enlarged comprehension of

which there would be no field for his agency, it is a question whether he does not also owe something to it, and whether he is entitled to the fruit of all the additional work which his genius has made possible.

* "Know then thyself, presume not God to scan,
The proper study of mankind is Man."

Pope, *Essay on Man*, Ep. II.

the laws of nature, such study tends to give us more adequate views of the mind of God, and thus indirectly a better understanding of our own.* With these limitations, however, it is true that "the proper study of mankind is man." The highest and best scholarship is that which is most conversant with man, his nature, his capacity, his wants and his destiny. Hence it was that over the gate of the Delphian temple there stood the inscription, said to have come down from heaven, "*Know thyself*;" which signified that self-knowledge on the part of men is not only the most valuable knowledge to men themselves, but also the first condition of rightly knowing and honoring the gods. It has been said that in the universe there are but two supreme and permanent realities, namely God and the soul; which may be accepted as correct, provided by soul we understand a society of souls, or personal spirits, standing in reciprocal relations with God and with each other. But if this be true, then it will follow that the chief object of the student's reflection and study, next to God at least, should be man—not indeed merely the individual, but the social man.

Man is man only in society, and can, therefore, be rightly known only in this relation. We are members of a race, to the historic evolution of which we owe not only our place in life, but also our individual peculiarities and qualities. This does not mean that the individual soul is not the product of a divine or creative energy, but that the creative energy is conditioned in its operation by all past fortunes of humanity. A Homer, a Shakespeare, a Newton, or an Edison, is the product of ages of struggle and suffering, of development and progress, in the race and nation to which he belongs, and could have appeared

* The knowledge of man, the knowledge of nature, and the knowledge of God mutually condition each other. God can only be known in proportion as man and nature are known. The human mind can know God only in proportion as its cognitive powers are developed; and it is bound to derive its general conception of God from itself. But, then, on the other hand, the true knowledge of the being and character of God is the light which illuminates the nature and destiny of man; and it is with the knowledge of these that man is most deeply concerned.

n no other time and place than his own.* The individual's physical and intellectual endowments are inheritances for which past generations have labored and suffered ; and his opportunities of development and action are conditions produced by the life and toil of the social body to which he belongs. To that social body he is bound by innumerable ties. To it he owes the mental and moral furniture of his soul. There could be no mental development without the stimulating presence of a developed mind in the social organism.† And apart from this social organism there could be neither morality nor religion. The conscience, which is the organ of morality, is not merely a function of the individual mind, but equally as much of the common mind of society—the spirit of the age, as is evident from the fact that its decisions are governed by the habits and manners of different times and places. And religion, too, while it expresses an immediate relation between man and God, nevertheless depends for its development and energy upon man's relation to man in the solidarity of human society. If one man were alone in the world, he could have neither morality nor religion, any more than intelligence or civilization. From all this it follows, then, that it is not merely the individual, but

* In the above we do not mean to affirm that the individual is the product solely of his endowments and environment. We hold, on the contrary, that the personal will, or power of self-determination, has much to do with the development of an individual. Some may, through their own fault, fail to realize all the possibilities of their being ; but no one can make *more* of himself than his nature and environment will permit.

† The question as to the first awakening of mind in the race, though interesting in itself, does not directly concern us here. We remark, however, by the way, that we, for our part at least, can conceive of it only as occurring very gradually in consequence of the reciprocal relations of a number of human individuals and under the stimulating influence of the mind of the Creator. The infancy of the race resembles the infancy of the individual in this, that there is no direct memory or knowledge of it. We have no recollection of our transition from the unconscious to the conscious condition of existence ; and neither has the race. Nor is there any revelation to make up for this lack of recollection. We can only make inferences in regard to the infancy of the race, as we make inferences in regard to our own infancy from what we see in the lives of others.

the social man that forms the proper object of the study of mankind. It is man in his social relations, as these give rise to the varied interests and forms of life and action, which we express by the words civilization, industry, government, morality, religion, that forms the most important object of human thought and study. No other knowledge can equal in interest and value that which has to do with man himself in these essential relations. Indeed all other knowledge, not even excepting that of theology itself, may be said in some sense to form part only of the great science of man, and to derive its interest from this.

And now, what is the end of this science of man? *Cui bono?* What is it good for? We answer that its end is the ever-continuing evolution of the social man—the progress of human society—the development of the community, the nation, the race into a higher and better condition. It is the design of all science, whatever may be the immediate object with which it has to do, to contribute to the progress of humanity in goodness and happiness. And it is the mission of the scholar, no matter what may be his immediate calling or profession, to serve as instrument and means for the further development of that social organism to whose past evolution he owes his own existence and his opportunities.

Human society has not yet reached a state of perfection; and its present condition, therefore, is not a finality. Of this proposition the existing dissatisfaction with the present order of things and the increasing frequency and violence of social disturbances may be considered a sufficient proof. Never was dissatisfaction more widespread, and discontent more general. The present generation is satisfied with nothing as it is, either in science, in art, or in life. Hence we have new sciences, new arts, new forms of industry, new methods of trade, new theologies, and, of course, new theories of society, or of the social man. There is a superabundance of new sociological schemes for the reorganization and regeneration of humanity, which, if they prove nothing else, show at least that there is a wide-

spread dissatisfaction with the existing order of things, such as is not compatible with an ideal state of society. Society in general, it is felt by an ever-increasing number of people, has arrived at a pass where it cannot remain; and there is imperative necessity that it should be helped to reach a higher plane, upon which there may be a better adjustment of its various interests and forces. And numerous plans are accordingly proposed, some wise and some otherwise, for the attainment of this end. What is wanted is a reorganization or readjustment of the leading factors of society in such way as to produce a larger amount of good for all its members. There are in the constitution of human society two leading factors or tendencies, namely, the centripetal and the centrifugal, or the general and the individual; the one tending to consolidation, to the exaltation of authority, and to the subjection of the individual to the general will; the other to expansion, to the assertion of individual right, and the maintenance of individual liberty in thought and action. And the leading problem—a problem extending to all the spheres of society, the State, the Church, the school, and the realms of industry and trade—the leading problem is how to arrange and organize these factors in such way as to secure the most favorable conditions of existence for all—conditions that shall secure to every individual the right of the freest personal activity and development, yet without trenching upon the rights of other individuals, and thus give to all an equal chance of life and happiness.

To persuade ourselves that this problem has already been conclusively solved, and that the present state of society here in America is a finality, beyond which nothing better is attainable or thinkable, would be a mere delusion, that ought to be dispelled by the roar of the multitude of voices which are heard demanding something new and better. This universal demand for something new in the social order is not a mark of insanity. Humanity as a whole is not insane. Its demand, though perhaps not altogether reasonable, has in it, at least, a measure of reason. And there would, therefore, be no use in saying that

the best attainable condition has been reached, and that the agitation for something better is all unjustifiable, being merely the work of wicked and designing men. That would be something like the judgment which Rome has always pronounced on the Reformation. The Reformation, in the opinion of Rome, was simply the work of wicked and rebellious men. There was no occasion for it, no call for it; and if Luther and a few other bad men had just kept quiet, there would have been no Reformation, and everything would have remained as it was of old. That, of course, betrays but a shallow knowledge of history. But it is no more superficial than the judgment which many entertain in regard to the socialistic agitations of our day. These agitations, whatever their immediate object may be, are pronounced to be all wrong, both in matter and form. The objects which they have in view, and the manner in which these objects are pursued, deserve no consideration or countenance from staid and sober men. The only right way of dealing with them is to put them down by the strong hand of the law.* Let the demands of social reformers be met with powder and bullets, is the counsel of no inconsiderable part of the public press.

Powder and bullets, iron and steel, force and violence: these have, indeed, been the means of dealing with matters of this kind in all past ages. This is probably one of the reasons why in the Hebrew Scriptures the rulers of the world-powers, with

* No remark was more frequently heard during the troubles of the past summer than this, that "the law must be enforced." It expresses a proposition in which all are agreed. Of course the law must be enforced. That is what the law exists for. But, after all, the political wisdom which has nothing more to offer than this plain proposition, is not very profound wisdom. The execution of the law, when the justice or fairness of the law itself is in dispute, or when its provisions manifestly fail to afford a remedy for evils complained of, is not an end of the controversy. The present contention on the part of great masses of people is that the law itself is in need of reform; and they will, therefore, not be willing to accept *the enforcement of the law as a solution of the difficulty which is pressing upon society.* The law itself needs to be amended by the application to it of the higher law of right Christian reason and conscience.

which the people of Israel came in contact, are usually represented under the symbols of wild beasts; as in Daniel, for instance, the Babylonian, the Median and the Persian empires are represented respectively by the lion, the bear and the leopard, while the Greek power is denoted by a beast exceedingly terrible, dreadful and strong, whose name is not mentioned. This representation implies that these world-powers generally deported themselves with brutal violence and cruelty, as well as with brutal unreason and passion. And is not that the way in which the so-called secular power still for the most part behaves itself? What is king-craft or state-craft, or practical politics, but the highest refinement of animal cunning, with little infusion of truly human reason or moral sentiment? It is a game of shrewdness and violence, for the most part, from which most that is human in man is absent, and in which all that is brutal is present.* And some would have it that this is a finality, beyond which nothing may reasonably be thought of or expected. To adopt this view would, indeed, be to despair of the future of humanity; and then one might perhaps be ready, with Huxley, to "hail the advent of some friendly comet that would sweep the whole affair away as a desirable consummation." But in Daniel there is a promise that some time "one who is like unto a *Son of man*" shall set up a kingdom, which shall be given to the saints of the Most High, and that all dominions shall serve and obey Him. That, as we

* It is a common saying that "in politics as in war all things are allowable;" and it is supposed to be a proper thing for one party (the party that is out of power), to occupy itself entirely in the work of harassing and thwarting its opponents, though it be at the expense of the prosperity of the whole people. It is a matter of common observation, too, that men, who in private life are perfectly humane and gentle, being faithful to their wives, kind to their families, and fair in their intercourse with their immediate neighbors, recognize no law that binds them either to honesty or truthfulness in politics. All this shows how much of the beast there is still in the art of governing men, and how much this art needs to be humanized through the influence of higher and better thought. Public opinion should make such practices impossible; but public opinion must be the creation of those who are called to think for the public.

understand it, means that the governing power of human society shall some day become thoroughly *humanized*—that is to say, human society shall some day be organized in strict accordance with the principles of reason and love which are revealed in the life of the Son of Man. Will that promise never be fulfilled? Shall men not think of it, pray for it, labor for it? Shall those especially, who, by reason of their ability, attainments and station, are the natural leaders and teachers of men, be satisfied with things as they are, delivering the fortunes of society into the hands of the politicians, and making no efforts to promote the realization of this ideal of the kingdom of God?

Some, indeed, tell us that there is nothing to be done, because the whole process of history is one of natural evolution, in which the mechanical law of cause and effect prevails as completely as in the order of mere physical sequence. Virtue and vice, morality and immorality, happiness and misery, both in public and in private life, are necessary effects of causes that have been working in the organism of humanity for ages. The condition of society is, indeed, changing; but it is changing in consequence of the operation of a blind law, acting through competition, or struggle for existence, and natural selection, whose results cannot be altered in the least by intelligent and volitional action. The stream of human life is flowing on in consequence of a force that is inherent in itself, and human freedom has nothing at all to do with its direction. If humanity is made better, or worse, it is in consequence of the operation of a natural law, which has no moral feelings, no sense of pity or sympathy, and which, instead of being affected and modified by the volitional actions of individuals, itself determines and controls them. The force that works in history, according to this view, is a force that hears no prayers, heeds no sacrifices, counts no tears and yields to no influence of human agency whatever. The only thing that men can do is to let it alone and accept the results of its operation with resignation. The whole practical philosophy of human

life is, accordingly, summed up in the two words, *laissez faire*.

But such theories, however invulnerable they may appear in the contemplation of logic, inevitably split upon the rock of conscience. We are conscious of a feeling of responsibility for our actions, and that implies that we are free beings—determining our environment, as well as being determined by it, and working out our own fortunes, as well as shaping the destiny of the race.* History is a realm of intelligence and freedom, whose subjects are not mere senseless and passive atoms, but intelligent and self-acting agents. There is law in history, too. This fact has been strongly emphasized in modern evolutionary thinking. There is unity of plan and continuity of movement in history. And this implies that there is a directing mind, an impelling will, watching over and controlling the whole process, and guiding it to its predestined end, "That one far-off divine event to which the whole creation moves." But the elements with which the all-governing mind here works, are not senseless atoms; they are self-conscious and free personalities, akin to the creating and governing mind itself. We may not be able to reconcile to our own satisfaction these apparently opposite conceptions of necessity and freedom in the realm of human history—the one securing unity, continuity of development, and the realization of a preconceived ideal plan, and the other securing the independence of personality, the reality of morality, and the significance of human action as determining weal and woe. But we are convinced of the truthfulness of these conceptions; and we are convinced that both these factors co-operate in the movement of history. As in the freezing of water, the law of contraction, under the

* It may be said that the consciousness of responsibility, or the consciousness of freedom, is merely a consciousness of the *belief* that we are free—a mental phenomenon, but that this is no proof of a corresponding reality in the metaphenomenal or noumenal order. We do not admit the possibility of such contradiction between consciousness and objective reality. We hold that consciousness has reality, not illusion, for its object.

influence of cold, at a certain point gives way to the law of expansion, thus securing a beneficent purpose in the economy of nature; so in the evolution of humanity the law of necessity, operating through the principles of competition and natural selection, gives way at a certain stage to the law of freedom, operating through the principles of conscience and love. Thus there is in the evolution of humanity an element of altruism, as well as of egoism, and human history is invested throughout with a distinctively moral character and meaning. Human history, then, is a moral process, and its progress is conditioned by the moral acts of men, but especially of the great and leading personalities with whose deeds we are so much concerned in the study of history. This is in accordance with the estimate which humanity has always put upon its great men. It is a fact that men in all ages and climes have looked for their greatest blessings, not to external nature, nor directly to any power above nature, but to men of ability and eminence, like the law-givers of antiquity, or the founders and reformers of religion; and those who have materially contributed to the progress and prosperity of their people, have afterwards been worshiped as heroes and demigods. This fact of hero-worship is a proof that, according to the spontaneous judgment or conscience of humanity, human welfare and progress are not the product merely of the operation of natural laws with which thought and volition have nothing to do, but of human conduct intelligently or rationally directed.

But some, again, suppose that all that is necessary in order to the advancement of mankind, or the coming of the kingdom of God, is the spiritual regeneration of men by the grace of God. Let men be converted, it is said sometimes, and society will come right spontaneously. It is not thought that is wanted so much, but prayer. If men's hearts could be made right, their heads would become right of themselves. If all church-members, for instance, were Christians in heart, then church-union would come. If all men were religious, then there would be no intemperance, and as a consequence of that, poverty

would cease.* If all capitalists and laboring men were converted, then they would be kindly disposed towards each other, and their conflicts would come to an end. Now, in one view, this representation may be accepted as correct. It is undoubtedly true that the religion of Christ is the remedy for all human ills, and the medium for the realization of the highest human good. And if all men were Christians, in the full sense of the term, having the mind and will of Christ, then the kingdom of God would have come in its perfection. But to be a Christian in this sense is more than to be converted or to have undergone a change of heart. To the idea of Christian character there belongs more than the notion of a good heart or good will. The head needs to be made good as well as the heart, and neither one can be made thoroughly good without the other ; although it is said of King David that his heart was perfect with the Lord, while his character certainly was not perfect, nor his conduct in conformity with the absolute standard of right. But if that was possible for David, it may be possible now also for men to be Christians, as to the general tendency of their life, sincerely loving Christ and their fellowmen, and yet to stand for principles and methods in public and private life that are not Christian. The Spirit of Christ, understanding by that both an efficient motive and a perfect rule of moral conduct, is undoubtedly the leaven that will transform human society and make it to be in truth the kingdom of God. But this spirit does not apply itself and its rules naturally and spontaneously

* Not a few well-disposed people are sincerely convinced that the sole cause of pauperism, if not of every other evil in this world, is the use of intoxicating liquors, and that if the manufacture and sale of these could be stopped, then the work of all reform would be finished. We believe, too, that the sale of intoxicated liquors as a beverage should be prohibited by law ; but we are very sure that in the present condition of society this can not be effectually done. We hold that poverty is as much the cause of intemperance, as intemperance is of poverty. So long as there are *tenement houses*, and *sweating establishments*, so long there will also be saloons. And the work of reform will, accordingly, demand much more expenditure of thought and toil than many an ardent prohibitionist imagines.

to the innumerable interests and relations of human society; on the contrary, its application is possible only through the moral action, that is, the intelligence and volition, of the individual members of which society is composed.

It follows, then, that the progress of society can only take place as a consequence of growing Christian intelligence and thought. The Christian principle intelligently applied to the ever-varying conditions and problems of life, is the true and efficient principle of human progress. And it is the scholar's mission in society to serve as the organ for the application of this principle to the multiplied forms of thought and action of which the life of society consists. It is he to whom society looks for direction and help in its critical moments, and for soundness of practical judgment at all times. And the value of scholarship will, therefore, ever be measured by the degree in which it fulfills this expectation, and answers the purpose of the advancement of society. A scholarship that is helpless in the presence of the problems of the age, having neither counsel nor aid to offer, is essentially defective, no matter how much knowledge it may involve. And a scholarship that does not see the problems, has but little just claim to the name. It is doubtless an interesting thing to know the distance and composition of the stars; and such knowledge may be said to be useful, too, by reason of the strength which the acquisition of it imparts to the mind of the student, and by reason of the enlarged view of the universe which he thereby gains; but if the astronomer should live among the stars so entirely as to become oblivious to the affairs of earth, and insensible to the pains and pleasures of hearts around him; he could hardly be pronounced a valuable member of the human family. The historian who knows all about the number and succession of the Babylonian and Egyptian kings, of their battles and conquests, of their banquets and hunting expeditions, and of the customs of their harems, but is not able to cast an intelligent vote at a municipal election, can scarcely be said to have studied history to much purpose. And the man who is thoroughly master

of numismatics, being able to tell the date and value of the minutest Greek or Persian coin, but is profoundly ignorant of the existence and meaning of the "silver question," does not possess the kind of knowledge required to fit a man for the performance of any real mission in the modern world.*

The age in which we are living is calling for men of high thinking and of Christian consecration, who can understand its perplexities and feel its distresses—for men who have thoroughly studied man, the social man, and who know his ailments and his wants, and are able to suggest a remedy. The age wants men who can think profoundly on the problems of humanity, and at the same time give to their thoughts a practical direction and aim. The age wants practical men—that is to say, not men without theory, men who fling theory to the winds, men who have no faith in theory and go at their work blindly, according to the dictates of interest or passion, of whom it has more than enough already; but men of the highest intelligence as well as the highest practical aptitude—men whose theories shall be supremely practical, and whose practice shall be regulated always by the highest and best theory.

For such men our age is calling loudly and earnestly. Such men are needed in the crisis of transition which is evidently upon us. There are many things in this age that can not remain as they are. Who supposes, for instance, that the Church can always remain in its present divided condition, or that politics can always remain the thing which it is now, or

* We do not forget that in scholarship, too, as well as elsewhere, there is need of a division of labor; and that some divisions of thought must necessarily be more practical than others. The student of pure mathematics, of metaphysics, or of philosophical theology may not be engaged in work as directly practical as that which engages the attention of the economist, the moralist, or the preacher; and yet his work is not in vain. It belongs to the totality of that intellectual activity which has for its ultimate end the progressive development of man. But this end no student may forget and be true to his proper calling. Knowledge, like the Sabbath, exists for man, not man for knowledge. He who fails to remember this truth, and parts with his interest and sympathy in human life, is not fulfilling the true mission of a scholar.

that the present methods of determining wages and settling disputes between capital and labor can always endure? This old order is bound to change. Indeed, so many things have already become new in the order of modern life, that society exists now in a state of unstable equilibrium, and there can be no rest until all things shall have become new. The advancement of science, the invention of new machinery, and the application of steam and electricity to the world's labor, to speak of nothing else, will alone require a new arrangement of the elements and methods of the whole social order. Society cannot now get along on the old lines or with the old methods. There is needed a more thorough application of the Christian principle, the principle of equity and love, to all the modes of social action; and this is possible only through well-directed intelligence and thought.

The age, then, is calling for men of thorough scholarship and Christian consecration in all the walks of professional life. And its appeal comes with especial force to the young men of to-day.¹ The older men, whose training was received in other times and under other conditions, and whose habits of thought have long since become fixed, may not be capable entirely of comprehending this new age in which we are now living. Many of us can do no more, perhaps, than stand with a kind of dumb amazement in presence of the mighty forces with which the age is agitated, wondering what is going to be the result of it all. We feel that a new world is about to be born; and we would fain hope that it is going to be a better world than that which now is. We believe that faith in God and in humanity justifies this hope. The beginning of the twentieth century will be the opening of a new and better era for mankind than the nineteenth has been with all its brilliant achievements. Men will be better and happier than they are now. Whether the new era shall come through evolution or through revolution, whether the birth-throes shall be mild or whether they shall be severe, will depend somewhat upon the tenacity with which this generation shall hold on to the old order, and somewhat also

upon the wisdom and patience which shall be exhibited by the representatives of the new. But in no case will the new era come by mere accident or chance, without human intelligence and will. It can only come as the gift and through the service of a generation of men of high thought and martyr courage. It is a grand, an inspiring prospect for the young men of to-day, gifted with the fortune of a liberal education, that they may be actors in the drama of the social reformation which is evidently before us. Of Alexander, of Macedon, it is said that on a certain occasion he wept because there were no more lands to be conquered. No young man now, with the chance of a liberal education, need to weep as though there were nothing for him to accomplish. A new age is to be inaugurated, a new world is to be born, a new condition of society is to be created; and here the scholar will find a field and a mission worthy of his highest powers.*

* The above paper contains the substance of an address delivered at the opening of the theological and literary institutions of the Reformed Church, at Lancaster, Pa., September 13, 1894. The occasion, of course, determined the choice of subject, and also to some extent the manner of treatment. Since the writing of it was finished, we have read Mr. Benjamin Kidd's noted book on "Social Evolution," in which the author *seems* to arrive at conclusions diametrically opposite to the views presented in this paper. Mr. Kidd views the subject of human progress from the stand-point of evolution. But contrary to the manner of the ordinary evolutionist, he makes the religious impulse to be the chief factor in the evolution of society. And this religious impulse, which alone provides the altruistic sentiments required in order to the progress of humanity, according to Mr. Kidd, is both ultra-natural and ultra-rational. There is no sanction in reason, Mr. Kidd affirms repeatedly, for the social virtues which are necessary as conditions of social development. The reason is essentially selfish, and human progress must consist largely in a struggle between reason and the ultra-rational principle of religion. For instance, the favored classes of society must always be impelled by their reason or intelligence to hold on to their privileges, and can only be moved to surrender them for the good of society by the altruistic feelings arising out of the ultra-rational principle of religion.

In relation to all this we would say, in the first place, that we are sincerely glad that in a work so thoroughly scientific as this, so much account is made of the factor of religion in the evolution of human life. This shows at least that all evolutionary science is not irreligious or atheistic. Here is an evolutionist, though by no means the first or only one, with whom any Christian

minister can heartily shake hands. But in the second place, we would observe that, in our opinion at least, Mr. Kidd presses the distinction between the religious and rational principles in man to an extent that is not warranted by the facts of human nature or history. In fact he seems to hold them in entire separation, and thus to introduce a dualism into the human mind. To this we are bound to object. The human soul is one; and any true progress must involve the co-ordinate development of all its faculties. The life of religion and morality must include them all. We cheerfully grant that mere intelligence or reason, if this could exist by itself, would not be sufficient for the production of either religion or morality; but neither would mere feeling be sufficient for this end. Both religion and morality involve an element of reason as well as of feeling. Mr. Kidd speaks continually of the altruistic *feelings* as the conditions of social development. In strictness, however, there can be no altruistic *feelings*, for feelings have nothing but pleasure and pain for their object. What is meant are altruistic *sentiments*; but sentiments are feelings determined by thought, and could have no existence without thought. How impossible it is to carry out a scheme of spiritual life in which the intellect shall be separated from feeling, is shown by Mr. Kidd himself; for when defining the contents of the religious principle underlying modern European civilization, he names the "doctrines" of individual salvation and of individual equality before God. We believe that in regard to this point he is right. These two *doctrines*—the doctrine of individual salvation, or in other words the doctrine of the value of the individual soul, and the doctrine of the innate equality of all men before God—these are the guiding principles of our modern Christian civilization. But these are *doctrines*, and not mere feelings. Doctrines have for their contents rational conceptions or principles, while the only contents belonging to feelings, properly so-called, are pleasures and pains. If, then, Mr. Kidd accepts religious "doctrines" as the moving springs of social progress in modern Christian civilization, this implies that the principle of such progress is intellectual or rational as well as emotional. And if we maintain that it is the mission of the thinkers in society to unfold and apply the thought contained in the Christian principle to the innumerable details of human life and conduct, we hardly think that Mr. Kidd would object. And so, perhaps, our difference is more apparent than real. We must object, however, to the designation of the religious principle as ultra-natural and ultra-rational. Religion is the highest *nature* as well as the highest *reason* in man—that with reference to which his being is constituted from the beginning; and irreligion, consequently, and immorality are a violation both of nature and of reason. If religion did not fit into man's reason, then it would not be true for him, and would not long continue to impose upon his will.

II.

UNITY IN THE PROCESS OF THE WORLD'S DEVELOPMENT.*

BY JOHN S. STAHR, D.D.

THE significance of the world movement comes to view only in the ethical development of man. The earth in its physical aspect is an object of the keenest scientific interest, and the study of its genesis and its gradual formation until it became the theatre of life presents problems which may well engage the powers of the greatest intellect. Much more interesting and important is the unfolding of the life system now found upon the earth ; and the tracing out of the relationships which hold between the different forms of life and of the conditions under which the operations of the world from this point of view have been carried forward, are not only important and ennobling, but also essential to the full development of man's intellectual and moral powers. The naturalist is not necessarily, therefore, to be regarded as typified by the man with the muck-rake in *Pilgrim's Progress*, although unfortunately the outcome of his work sometimes seems to justify the comparison. The important point is that in such study the connection between the different parts or orders of nature, the "inner, spiritual bond" that holds them all together, is not to be overlooked ; for then, and then only, does the meaning of the whole order come to view. All nature then looks forward and upward until we reach its crowning glory in man. But man is man only in

* "Social Evolution." By Benjamin Kidd. Macmillan & Co.

The Lowell Lectures on the Ascent of Man. By Henry Drummond, F.R.S.E., F.G.S. James Pott & Co.

society. His excellence does not appear in the beauty and gracefulness of his form, nor in the subtlety and strength of his intellectual nature. Only when acting in consociation with his fellows and affected in turn by the influence which they exert upon him, does he manifest the greatness of his nature and the excellent gifts with which he is endowed.

No attentive observer can have failed to notice the great stress which thoughtful men have laid in recent years upon the ethical factor in human development. During the decades which followed immediately after the publication of Darwin's "Origin of Species" the study of nature received a degree of attention hitherto unknown in the history of the world. This study was extraordinarily fruitful in every direction, and even in the study of man's intellectual and moral nature as well as in the study of history and society, the scientific method of this school produced results of profound significance. The trend of scientific thought, however, was towards an apprehension of nature, including man as a component part, which regarded the whole domain as one realm, swayed by the same forces, produced by a simple movement from below upward, without any qualitative difference between the extreme terms of the series into which it had expanded. Both Herbert Spencer's philosophy and Darwin's theory of development, while they did not deny the existence of the ethical factor in the individual and in society, tended to minimize the significance of it, and to identify it in essence with analogous manifestations in the animal world. It seemed that in this way the world in its development and essence could be reduced to absolute unity. Naturally such a conception of the world failed to satisfy the conditions of the problem. Spencer scarcely convinces himself, and certainly not others, that he sees how the selfish principle is exalted into altruism, or the natural becomes moral. And yet altruism and morality are conditions absolutely essential to the existence of society and the development of man's higher spiritual life. The importance of this is coming to be more and more fully recognized in proportion as men pay more regard to the study of social

questions. It is a striking fact that questions of this kind are rapidly acquiring an all-absorbing interest. Sociology is the coming science, and ethical questions as they come to view in man's social relations are pressing themselves upon the attention of the student on every side. Huxley only expresses what is in the minds of men generally when he returns again and again to the ethical problem, and comes at last to the conclusion that it cannot be stated in terms derived from the principle which he sees predominant in nature as the "cosmic principle," commonly called the "Struggle for Existence." In "Evolution and Ethics" this truculent apostle of science tones down to the recognition of an order widely different from the prevailing tendency of nature, the sphere of the ethical in which man's real development takes place. "Cosmic Nature," he says, "is no school of virtue, but the headquarters of the enemy of ethical nature." "Social progress means the checking of the Cosmic process at every step, and the substitution for it of another, which may be called the ethical process; the end of which is not the survival of those who may happen to be fittest, in respect of the whole of the conditions which exist, but of those which are ethically the best."* Language like this is significant as the expression of contemporaneous thought, but especially significant as the language of Mr. Huxley. It indicates how deep an impression the ethical and social problems of the day have made, and leads to the conviction that the hitherto accepted interpretations of nature from the standpoint of science are unsatisfactory and insufficient. The time has come when men feel the need of a deeper apprehension of natural development and human history.

Taking a calm survey, now, of the whole field, is it possible to reduce the system of things before us to a unity? On the one hand there is the order of nature below man with all its laws and forces. On the other, the ethical world, governed by principles which seem to be radically different. These two orders meet in man, and to this extent at least, they are related

* "Evolution and Ethics," pp. 27 and 33.

to one another. Now, each having its own peculiar laws and constitution, and its own mode of development, are these orders two distinct systems which coincide in man, the one depending upon a process from below upwards, the other, upon one from above downward? Or are the two orders, at first sight so radically different, in reality only parts of one system, subject to one process of unfolding, controlled by the same fundamental principles, and tending toward the same end? The former position has generally been taken in the supposed interest of theism; the latter, from the standpoint of atheism or pantheism. It has already been asserted that the trend of scientific thought since 1859 has unmistakably been in the direction of unity, toward a conception which makes the whole world kin, which says of every creature in earth or sea or sky:

"All are but parts of one stupendous whole,
Whose body Nature is, and God the Soul."

And this tendency, it must be confessed, has done but scant justice to the moral and religious nature of man. Accordingly it was but to be expected that there should be strong opposition and vigorous protests against "infidel doctrines" and "atheistic science" on the part of those who occupied theistic ground and stood as the champions of morality and religion. Unfortunately this opposition went too far, and by means of vehement assertion and dogmatic statement attempted to stay the progress or fix the bounds of scientific investigation. *Magna est veritas, et prevalebit.* In the wild campaign against evolution, the self-constituted champions of religion often occupied untenable ground, and, in consequence, were driven from their citadels, while the progress of scientific knowledge continued unchecked, and the new methods of inquiry were extended, to the great advantage of all interests, even into the doctrines of morality and religion.

Theology, as the name implies, is also a science, yea, the "queen of the sciences;" its method, therefore, must also be scientific, and its data, some of them found in human nature

and history, and others given by divine inspiration, need to be as carefully scrutinized as any others. The data must be *facts*—and no amount of dogmatism can ward off scientific examination and treatment. In the course of the last twenty-five years, therefore, theology itself has undergone a great change by the application of the scientific method. In this way ground has been lost and won on both sides in the ferment of conflicting opinion. The outcome of it all is, that both sides have in some things been found in error, and each has been in the possession of precious truth. The last word has not been spoken; but it is not too soon to assert that all the signs of the times point to a closer approach of the two sides. Science is rapidly learning that morality and religion cannot be accounted for by a “philosophy of dirt,” to use Carlyle’s expressive phrase, and theology is beginning to see that evolution may be held from a theistic as well as an atheistic standpoint. Indeed it may be confidently predicted that ultimately, and perhaps speedily, the conclusion will be established that the world movement, in its growth and development, from beginning to end, from the most insignificant animalcule to the most highly cultured man, is one process, involving many factors and different stages, but constituting, in the correlation and interaction of the parts, a strict unity, an organic whole.

Two recent books, referred to at the beginning of this article, have received a great deal of attention because of the bearing which they have upon the question now so frequently under discussion. The former, “*Social Evolution*,” by Benjamin Kidd, has been called by one of its chief critics, the greatest contribution made to the elucidation of social questions for a decade; it has been heralded as marking a new epoch in scientific study almost as great as the publication of Darwin’s classic work; it has been accepted in religious circles as a complete vindication of the claims of religion over against evolutionary science. The book is undoubtedly thoughtful and strong, and its influence will prove most salutary. But it may well be doubted whether it will have anything like the effect

claimed for it, or whether it deserves all the praise lavished upon it by its enthusiastic admirers. In the first place it is not easy reading. The danger is that the author will either not be understood at all in many portions, or else misunderstood. And then again while, the author's conclusion as to the necessity of making account of the religious factor in social development is undoubtedly right, some of his premises may fairly be questioned, and, therefore, also exception may be taken to many of his inferences, and to the way in which he seems to apprehend the process and order of human development. We say, seems to apprehend, because it is by no means clear what the author's view of the world movement on its positive side, if he has any, really is. He is by far the stronger on the negative side, and he shows very clearly that the religious factor in human development cannot be excluded; but how it is included, or how the supernatural, or, as he calls it, the ultra-rational, enters into the process of human development, he does not attempt to explain. There seems to be a painful dualism, if not positive opposition, between the rational and moral principles as they affect human conduct. Perhaps a fuller statement of his views would serve to remove the difficulty which here presents itself; but as the argument stands, the presentation of the subject seems defective.

It would be interesting to follow the author's argument in detail; the present opportunity, however, will allow the examination of only a few salient points which are pertinent to the subject under discussion. For this purpose it is necessary first of all to set forth the author's main contention, which may be stated as follows :

The law of the "survival of the fittest" in the struggle for existence holds with inexorable rigor throughout the whole domain of animated nature and constitutes the only condition by which progress in the development of life is possible.* This

* "From this stress of nature has followed the highest result we are capable of conceiving, namely, continual advance towards higher and more perfect terms of life. Out of it has arisen every attribute of form, color, instinct,

law applies even to the human sphere where reason and intelligence enter into the process, and here, by means of the survival of the strongest and best equipped individuals and the dying out of the inferior or feebler members of the collective body, the way is open for the almost unlimited progress of human society, the few receiving the accruing benefits at the expense of the many. It would therefore manifestly be to the advantage of the large mass of individuals that they should agree upon conditions which would secure equal advantages to all, by stopping the strife of competition and bringing all upon the same level.* This, however, would at once stop the wheels of progress. Society would not only stand still, but deteriorate. The present would be made tolerable for the masses at the expense of future generations. The interests of the individual and society are, therefore, absolutely antagonistic, and there is no rational sanction for human progress. The only way in which the advance of the race is secured, accordingly, is by causing men to act, not according to the dictates of their reason, but according to a sanction which is super-rational or ultra-rational.† Such a sanction is furnished by religion, and,

strength, courage, nobility, and beauty in the teeming and wonderful life around us. To it we owe all that is best and most perfect in life at the present day, as well as all its highest promise for the future. The law of life has always been the same from the beginning,—ceaseless and inevitable struggle and competition, ceaseless and inevitable selection and rejection, ceaseless and inevitable progress.”—“*Social Evolution*,” pp. 38, 39.

* *Ibid.* pp. 62, 63.

† “There emerges now clearly into sight a fundamental principle that underlies that social development which has been in progress throughout history, and which is proceeding with accelerated pace in our modern civilization. It is that in this development the interests of the individual and those of the social organism to which he belongs are not identical. The teaching of reason to the individual must always be that the present time and his own interests therein are all-important to him. Yet the forces which are working out our development are primarily concerned not with these interests of the individual, but with those widely different interests of a social organism subject to quite other conditions and possessed of an indefinitely longer life. . . . And in the development which is in progress it is a first principle of evolutionary science that it is these greater interests that must always be para-

therefore, religion is the essential condition of progress in the case of rational creatures.*

Having discussed these points, the author proceeds to show that there has been in human history not only an upward movement in virtue of the law of progress previously described, but also a broadening movement by means of the struggle between the oppressed masses and the privileged classes, in which the former secure continually more favorable conditions for entering into the competition for the good things of life. At first the privileged few lorded it over the masses, and held them in absolute subjection. Later the masses secured the privilege of entering into the struggle for existence on *conditions of political equality*, and now the conflict is for *conditions of social equality*. In this whole movement, although all the advantage in the strife is on the side of the few, the gain is on the side of the many, because of the influx into the whole body, and particularly into those who are pre-eminent in culture, of the altruistic principles furnished by religion, and especially by that form of religion which we call Protestant Christianity.

As already stated, there is a great deal of force in the way in which the problem of social development is stated, and we

mount. The central fact with which we are confronted in our progressive societies is, therefore, that the interests of the social organism and those of the individuals comprising it at any time are actually antagonistic; they can never be reconciled; they are inherently and essentially irreconcilable." ("Social Evolution," p. 78)—"It is evident that there can never be for the individuals in these societies, any universal rational sanction for the conditions of existence necessarily prevailing."—"Social Evolution," p. 79.

* "The motive power in this struggle has undoubtedly been supplied by his religious beliefs. The conclusion towards which we seem to be carried is, therefore, that the functions of these beliefs in human evolution must be to provide a *super-rational* sanction for that large class of conduct in the individual, necessary to the maintenance of the development which is proceeding, but for which there can never be, in the nature of things, any *rational* sanction."—*Ibid.* p. 100.

A religion is a form of belief, providing an ultra-rational sanction for that large class of conduct in the individual where his interests and the interests of the social organism are antagonistic, and by which the former are rendered subordinate to the latter in the general interests of the evolution which the race is undergoing.—*Ibid.* p. 103.

have no fault to find with the stress laid by Mr. Kidd on the influence of religion or Christianity. But we cannot accept either the principle from which he starts, or the process by which he derives his conclusion. In the first place, we question the correctness of the author's statement of the conditions of human progress. He accepts in full not only the Darwinian principle of the survival of the fittest, but also Weismann's conclusion, that acquired characteristics are not transmitted by heredity, and that therefore any improvement in physical or intellectual condition acquired during the lifetime of an individual counts for naught in his offspring. The tendency, therefore, in any given case, because of the long line of ancestry of lower development preceding it, is to produce offspring of which by far the larger portion is not only below the highest, but even below the average condition of the species. Hence it is inferred that if there were not a constant weeding out, and rejection of these lower forms, there would not only be no progress, but a steady deterioration of the species.* We believe that this view is unscientific and opposed to the facts of experience. Acquired traits—physical, intellectual and moral—there is abundant evidence to show, have been, and are, constantly transmitted. The theologian at least who believes in "original sin," or any one conversant with the training of children or of animals, or the naturalist who has observed the origin and propagation of new varieties by artificial selection, will not easily dispute the statement. And then, too, the conditions of life are scarcely as hard and rigorous as this view of the case would make them. Undoubtedly the principle of natural selection and the survival of the fittest is one of the chief conditions of progress; but we think it is not the only condition. All through nature and in human society, as we shall presently see, there is another principle at work. The play impulse in the animal, the art impulse in man, the pleasure which men take in labor, in the achievement or accomplishment of anything great or good, without the feeling of rivalry and

* "Social Evolution," p. 37.

free from the lash of necessity, are all proof of the fact that nature's motto is *not* Wallenstein's: "Wer nicht vertrieben sein will, muss vertreiben." Life means struggle; but the struggle is, to say the least, fully as much against untoward surroundings as against one's fellows and competitors. And the cruel form which the struggle takes is due, in many cases, not so much to necessity as to selfishness, pride and ambition, for which also there is no "rational sanction."

In the second place the author's use of the term *rational sanction* is misleading. The word *sanction* may mean that which gives authority or binding force to a statement, a principle, or a mode of action, that on which it rests as its ultimate ground. This is no doubt the sense in which the author desires the word to be understood. Men obey the law of man or of God, not because they have reasoned about it and come to the conclusion that it is best for them to do so, but simply because it is *right*. We accept this view as over against the utilitarian school of moralists, and so far we can heartily agree with the author. But the word *sanction* also means approval or endorsement; and it seems to us that the author, in the progress of the argument, confounds the two meanings. He asserts that reason always prompts a man to act in such a way as to secure his own personal advantage—that is, to act selfishly. Whenever, therefore, in order to promote the welfare of his fellow-man or of society, he foregoes the selfish action, and perhaps does the very opposite of that which the selfish principle would suggest, he must be acting contrary to reason. In other words, reason does not sanction or approve of his conduct. We should hesitate to accept this as a fair representation of either human nature or reason. Such an action may not be performed because it is reasonable, but the enlightened reason will approve of the act and the actor. The social principle is ingrained in our constitution; yea, its lines run back into the genial soil of nature, and even in the animal world, among birds and beasts, there are found examples of helpful, kindly actions. In all such cases there is no opposition between reason and the moral

impulse. The action may be viewed as having a moral or religious basis, but in the end it will also be found that it is in the highest degree rational, and precisely in the degree that ethical development proceeds does the reason become enlightened. In this way self-perfection and the broadest philanthropy, reason and benevolence go hand in hand.

As the rational and moral impulses in man, therefore, are not in opposition in normal development so also is there, properly speaking, no conflict between reason and religion. Mr. Kidd says, p. 101: "There can never be, it would appear, such a thing as a rational religion. The essential element in all religious beliefs must apparently be the *ultra-rational* sanction which they provide for social conduct." Very true in one sense. Religion cannot be grounded in reason. But, after all, it must be *reasonable*. As accepted and understood and realized in the ethical life of man, it carries with it the power of meeting all the needs and aspirations of the soul, and brings into fullest harmony, yea *holds* in the fullest harmony, the natural or physical, the intellectual and the social or moral life of men, not only among themselves, but also in accord and harmony with the life of God Himself. Perhaps a better definition of religion than any of those quoted by Mr. Kidd, or given as his own, is the very simple one: "Religion is the life of God in the human soul." And such religion, we are persuaded, is rational, in the sense that it is in harmony with the highest reason, does no violence to it, and enters it not *ab extra*, but is developed and perfected in harmony with its own genesis and growth. Prof. Drummond, in the "Ascent of Man," p. 55 says: "The first essential of a working religion is that it shall be congruous with Man; the second that it shall be congruous with Nature. Whatever its sanctions, its forces must not be abnormal, but reinforcements and higher potentialities of those forces which, from eternity, have shaped the progress of the world. No other dynamic can enter into the working schemes of those who seek to guide the destinies of nations or carry on the Evolution of Society on scientific principles. A

divorce here would be the catastrophe of reason and the end of faith." This passage must be accepted with caution, for a great deal depends upon the sense in which the words Man and Nature are used. In one sense religion is not congruous with Man or Nature; it recreates them. But it is congruous with man in the essence of his being, or else the incarnation would have been impossible, and it is congruous with the normal order of nature, so that it enters not as a force coming from without, but as abiding in it from the first in virtue of the immanence of its Almighty Creator.

It is in this direction, it seems to us, that the solution of the great problem of the world's development is to be sought; and in proportion as the unity of the process will become clearer, we shall obtain a fuller knowledge of nature, of man, and of God. The solution has not yet been found. Neither Darwin's hypothesis of Evolution by Natural Selection, nor any other hypothesis yet advanced meets all the requirements of the case. And yet nothing is clearer than that there is an orderly process of development all through nature, and an intimate connection between all the stages—a process which reaches from the lowest beginnings of life up to man, from man up to the incarnation, from the incarnation up to the completion of human history, when Christ "shall be head over all things to the Church, which is His body, the fulness of Him that filleth all in all."

As an important contribution to the elucidation of our problem, and a valuable complementation of "Social Evolution," we may safely recommend Prof. Drummond's new work on "The Ascent of Man." The book is not without serious defects, in style and in matter; but it is strong and suggestive, and especially so in supplying many things which are lacking in "Social Evolution." The author's main purpose is to show that the whole process of development is continuous from beginning to end, and that it is an error to suppose that the altruistic principle comes to view only in the human sphere, standing in sharp contrast as the "ethical principle," with

the reigning tendency of the sub-human world or the "cosmical principle." "The real breach," he says, "is not between the earlier and the later process, but between two rival or two co-operating processes, which have existed from the first, which have worked together all along the line, and which took on 'ethical' characters at the same moment in time. The Struggle for the Life of Others is just as deep in the 'cosmic process' as the Struggle for Life; the Struggle for Life has a share in the 'ethical process' as much as the Struggle for the Life of Others. Both are cosmic processes; both are ethical processes; both are both cosmical and ethical processes. Nothing but confusion can arise from a cross-classification which does justice to neither half of Nature."* Beginning with the lowest forms of life, the author shows that from the very beginning there are two processes upon which the maintenance of life in the world depends. The one looks to the maintenance of the individual. It includes all those functions and powers which are concerned in "the Struggle for Life." The other looks to the maintenance of the species. It includes not only the functions of reproduction in the narrower sense, but also all the associated powers and tendencies, involving the selection of mates, care for offspring, association and fellowship in larger or smaller groups, the gradual formation of the family group in the higher forms of life and the consequent development of society, properly so-called, among men. In the course of his argument the author makes many statements which we are not prepared to accept in their wholeness, and we cannot follow him in all his conclusions. But no one who carefully reads the "Ascent of Man" with a clear understanding of the author's purpose, can fail to be deeply impressed with the thought that evolution after all is a very different thing from what it is usually represented. The evidence that all through nature there is a "Struggle for the Life of Others" is presented with such power and skill that it will not be easily gained or rejected. In addition to this, the author shows that as

* "Ascent of Man," pp. 23 and 24.

we advance from the lower to the higher orders the altruistic tendency of this impulse becomes more pronounced, and that all the lines of nature tend toward one goal where the whole movement issues in the clear light of consciousness, and becomes rational and moral in man. The portions of the seventh chapter which treat of Self-sacrifice in Nature, Co-operation in Nature, and the Ethical Significance of Sex are especially strong. The last of these, although brief, is as profound and significant as anything we have ever read on the subject.

- Prof. Drummond pleads for the study of Nature, not in *horizontal* section which can give rise only to a hundred unrelated sciences, but in *vertical* section which offers no break or flaw, and gives rise to only one science—Evolution. The latter process will show that “the laws of life are continuous throughout, the eternal elements in an ever-temporal world. The Struggle for Life, and the Struggle for the Life of Others, in essential nature have never changed. They find new expression in each further sphere, become colored to our eyes with different hues, are there the rivalries or the affections of the brute, and here the industrial or the moral conflicts of the race; but the factors themselves remain the same, and all life moves in widening spirals round them.”*

Prof. Drummond thinks that Mr. Kidd has succeeded splendidly in showing, “that Nature, *as interpreted in terms of the Struggle for Life*, contains no sanction either for morality or for social progress. But instead of giving up Nature and Reason at this point, he should have given up Darwin. The Struggle for Life is *not* ‘the supreme fact up to which biology has slowly advanced.’ It is the fact to which Darwin advanced; but if biology had been thoroughly consulted it could not have given so maimed an account of itself. . . . All that Mr. Kidd desires is really to be found in Nature.”†

These passages are quoted from Prof. Drummond in order that both his strength and his weakness may be set before the reader. We have already called attention to the former. The

* “Ascent of Man,” p. 46.

† *Ibid.*, p. 53.

latter appears in the last quotation, where the author insists that Nature offers everything that the problem in hand requires for its solution. But he leaves us in doubt how this is to be understood. Is there a distinction between the natural and the moral? If so, and Prof. Drummond would undoubtedly say yes, how does the natural become moral? Does the religious life of man mean more than his natural life? If so, how does it come to pass? The connection between the different stages of the world's development is clearly set forth, we may say demonstrated; but that in the essential nature of the higher by which it is characterized as different from the lower is not defined, nor are we told how the Divine is in Nature, or enters into the life of man. It is to be feared, therefore, that some of Prof. Drummond's readers will infer that he absolutely identifies the natural and the moral, the human and the divine, and that his scheme does not offer any real supernatural, any positive object of faith, which religion after all requires as its one essential requisite.

Prof. Drummond, however, is not to be blamed for not giving a full solution of the problem with which we are concerned. The time for such a solution has not yet come, and all the conditions are not yet at hand. But, as we have already intimated, it seems reasonable to expect that such a solution, which will no doubt involve the readjustment of many of our ideas both in Natural Science and Theology, is not far distant. Meanwhile it is well to keep in mind the conditions which such a solution must meet.

1. It must be in harmony with the facts of science.
2. It must recognize the testimony of consciousness, and the demands of the moral and religious nature of man.
3. It must apprehend the system of things in the bosom of which our human life is developed as a unity, subject to a single process of unfolding which makes room for the working together of nature and reason, of the human and the divine, without a break or flaw, and without interruption or violence to the order of development at any point.

If we call such a scheme Evolution, it is important to inquire carefully what it is that is evolved, or where the process begins. The pantheistic systems assume that the process of evolution throughout the universe is only the manifestation of the Deity in manifold forms and stages. It may be confidently asserted that any system which does not make room for a *personal* God, is, *ipso facto*, incapable of satisfying the demands of human personality. On the other hand, if the process is supposed to begin with matter and its forces, as many of the scientific schemes of evolution assume, it is difficult to account for the appearance of higher planes of development in successive stages, without either breaking the order and doing violence to the process, or undervaluing the higher manifestation by making it qualitatively the same as the lower. It would seem that there is only one way by which the difficulty can be removed. Evolution cannot be the evolution either of the Divine or of Nature separately taken, but of the two organically joined so as to constitute a unity, that is of Nature with the Divine immanent in it from the beginning and working through it in all its laws and forces.

The evolution of the family in human society begins with "twain made one flesh." These two become one in virtue of a law which is at once natural, human, and divine. In relations which are determined by the constitution of each, they complement one another physiologically, intellectually and morally, and out of their union the family is evolved in all its stages and all its enlarging circles of influence. In a somewhat analogous way we may conceive of the world movement as a process of development in virtue of the interaction of forces lodged in its own constitution from the beginning. Assuming a first act of creation, which science cannot touch (for "no history can record its own origin"), and positing the immanence of the Divine in Nature, we recognize a process of development which manifests in successive stages new forms and higher categories of energy, coming not from without, but from within the developing system. The formation of the earth, life, rationality

and morality, the incarnation, and the glorification of man are all but stages in the process. The movement may be accelerated or retarded, it may progress smoothly or it may flash out with sudden brightness and glory, *the higher stage appears in due time when the conditions for its manifestation are at hand, for Nature abhors a vacuum.* Whether the new factor be physical, intellectual, moral, or religious, its coming is in the fullest harmony with the antecedent condition. It is the bursting forth of new light from the immanent Divine, until it becomes the light that "shineth more and more unto the perfect day."

III.

MASTER OF THE SITUATION.*

BY REV. S. W. REIGART, D. D.

WHEN I consider the illustrious line of men; theologians, statesmen and doctors of philosophy and science, who, headed by that eminent scholar and profound thinker, Dr. Gerhart, have for the last half century, successively occupied the position of Alumni orator on these interesting Commencement occasions, I am amazed at my temerity in accepting the invitation to join the procession, especially since my distinguished friend, the able jurist, Judge Barnett, your first choice, has declined the honor. If my vanity has tempted me too far, however, in leading me to embrace what I regard as the privilege of a life time, the opportunity of appearing before such a cultured audience, in this, the city of my birth, my education, and of my labors for a time, allow me to plead in justification of my rashness, first, that I had no "tertius" to fall back upon, and secondly, that it has been a life rule with me never to decline a duty imposed upon me by those who have a right to impose it, deeming it better to come short in the performance than not to make the attempt. I thus throw the responsibility of my shortcomings upon those who assign me the task.

Since my Alma Mater sent me forth to fight the battle of life, equipped with such mental armor as it lay in her power to fabricate, or to furbish, my field of warfare has not been found where philosophers grapple with the profound problems of mind,

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or the manifold mysteries of science, but in the sphere of the pastorate, where by the sword of the Spirit, the preacher seeks to pierce the consciences of men, and bring them captive to the Cross of Christ. A learned disquisition on some abstruse philosophical theme is not, therefore, in my line. A sermon would be out of place,—for a song, my lyre is not in tune. I must therefore be content, and so must *you*, if I confine myself to a popular address, attempting no more than the suggestion of a few reasons for the conferring of a new degree,—trying to make it evident that in addition to the eminent names that are honored with the title of Master of Arts or Master of Sciences, there is yet another class, who (adorned or unadorned with academic honors) yet deserve the title: “Master of the Situation.”

This world, the sphere to which our activities are at present confined, is a poor place in which to live, if *happiness* be the end of human existence. If self-gratification be the object for which we were made, we are located on the wrong planet. Enjoyment is not to be found in a condition in which the sky may be suddenly overcast by lowering tempests, the genial heat of the sun be put to flight by the chilly blast, the purple light of youth be quenched by the darkness of disease, and the day of life extinguished in a moment by the night of death. If pleasure be the goal of life, the course of nature runs in the wrong direction, the world is upside-down, and the pessimist is right who says that life is not worth living. The Lord has made a mistake, either in the compounding of the elements of my nature, or the elements of the world, if He intended that I should find true happiness here. From the standpoint of the Epicurean, this is a poor world in which to live.

It is, however, a *good* world in which to live,—the best possible world, if *self-discipline* be the aim of human life. If I am put here to work out perfection of character,—to attain a true *manhood*, it is just the sphere I need, the school to which I should be sent, the very world in which my lot should be cast. The imperfections that abound in it, my own physical and

mental infirmities, my passions and appetites, the temptations of the society in which I am placed, the evils of my environment,—all afford me opportunity for self-development. To overcome these a putting forth of power is needful,—and everything that requires a putting forth of power is an *advantage*,—a help, and not a hindrance in the development of the man. Every man is the centre of a universe which it is his to subdue and control. The world was made for him, and it is his prerogative to use and enjoy all things that are therein. For *him*, the sun shines, the rain falls, the dew condenses on the grass, the plant puts forth its green leaves and beauteous flowers, the tree bears its fruit, the wind blows, the lightning darts across the sky, the rainbow spans the heavens, the birds fly in the air, the fish swim in the sea, and the beasts roam the earth. The forces of nature are his to tame and compel to do his bidding. Over the realm of mind and matter he is placed as king. A scepter of power is put into his hand which he may wield, bending all circumstances and events to his advantage,—or which he may fling from him and allow himself to become the sport of his circumstances, the slave of his own passions and desires, the helpless captive of the powers of evil.

And herein is the difference between man and the mere animal. The brute is the creature of his environment. He is what he is by reason of the outward forces which play upon him. If the tiger in the circus fails to tear in pieces the trainer who compels him to go through his performances, it is not that he has conquered his taste for blood, but because he fears the lash of his tamer. The animal has no personality. Whether to feed on honey or on vinegar the bee has no option. Whether to eat carrion or strawberries the buzzard cannot choose. But man has a *self-determining* power. He can resist all outer influences. To *alter* his environment he may not be able, but he may rise superior to it. Detrimental to his well-being, his circumstances may seem; he can convert his very hindrances into helps in the working out of his destiny, and make the stumbling-blocks in his way stepping-stones in his

ess heavenward. And this it is to show oneself a true —not to succumb to the influences that act against us, but to overcome them; not to bend to every storm of trial that beats us, but manfully to face it; not to be carried off by the feet of every crowd of evils that press upon us, but to thrust them back; not to be crushed by misfortune, but to master the situation in which we are placed.

What spectacle more grand and inspiring than that of a man thus rising above his circumstances, triumphing over personal difficulties—his very infirmities—by the might of a noble spirit within him! The puny frame, the impaired vision, the defective sense, the deformed figure, the burden of poverty, the lack of educational and social advantages only emphasize the greatness of the soul which achieves success in spite of them. Let us look at some of those who as kings in the realm of matter and of mind have overcome their environment, and shown themselves "Masters of the Situation."

He was born and reared in circumstances of poverty, where the ordinary means of self-improvement furnished by the school and college are wanting, greatly handicaps the runner in life's race, yet their name is legion, who, like the immortal Lincoln, rose up out of the very depths of indigence and obscurity to attain a place in the first rank of the world's worthies. Personal defects are, perhaps, harder to overcome than external hindrances; but Demosthenes, the stammerer, becomes Demosthenes, the greatest orator of the classic world. Of all the afflictions, the loss of sight is regarded as the most unfortunate, and to whom this affliction comes, is

"From the cheerful ways of men
Cut off, and for the book of knowledge fair
Presented with a universal blank
Of Nature's works, to him expunged and raz'd,
And wisdom at one entrance quite shut out."

And men have accomplished feats unsurpassed by men in full possession of their senses, and the two greatest poets of the world—the one of the ancient, the other of the modern

world—were bereft of sight. The chair of Mathematics at Cambridge, filled by the illustrious Sir Isaac Newton, was occupied a few years later by Nicholas Sanderson, a man blind from the first year of his birth. What a mastery of the situation was that when a blind man lectured on the Laws of Light, and went out with his pupils in the evening to make observations of the stars! Francis Huber, deprived of his sight when a boy, yet devoted his life to the study of bees, making experiments upon them, and observing their habits with such attention that he was able to solve many questions concerning them, and so made himself a name and an authority among entomologists. James Holman, another blind man, made a trip around the world, climbing mountains, exploring unfamiliar places, visiting manufactories and galleries of art, hunting elephants on horseback in Ceylon, and publishing (in 1834) an account of his travels in four octavo volumes, characterized by the *Encyclopædia Britannica* as a valuable and instructive work.

This is partly paralleled by the distinguished chaplain of the U. S. Senate, who tells us in his eloquent lecture, "What a blind man saw in Europe."

Take another similar instance. A hard piece of bread, thrown by a classmate in a fit of sport, deprived of the use of an eye, at the age of seventeen, a young student of Harvard University. The other eye was so much affected by sympathy that its sight was also endangered. The best oculists were consulted, but to no purpose. The young man went to Europe in hope of finding relief, but came back after three years with just enough vision to enable him to travel about, but not enough to read. Shut out from the bar for which he was destined, he yet resolved to devote himself to a literary career. He spent ten years of laborious systematic study before selecting his theme. Then he sat down to the stupendous undertaking before which ordinary resolutions would have vanished. "Archives were to be searched, masses of manuscript, official documents, correspondence, etc, to be canvassed, old chronicles consulted, reading without end to be done, and notes without end to be taken." What discouraging work for one who had to depend

for his reading upon the eyes of another, and for his writing upon the noctograph! But in ten years the work was accomplished. "Ferdinand and Isabella" was given to the world. Prescott was master of the situation, and his fame as a historian was assured. A still more unfortunate situation for a human being to find himself in than deficiency in one or more senses is deformity of body, or a lack of the full complement of limbs. Yet this, too, may be overcome. A notable instance we have in the case of Mr. Kavanagh, a member of the English House of Commons, who lately died. He was born without legs or arms; yet such was his indomitable will and buoyancy of spirit that he learned to ride on horseback, being fastened on the animal by straps, and managing him by a contrivance of his own invention, became a respectable scholar, traveled over Europe and Asia, took an active part in the social and political life of his country, and in short accomplished as much work and enjoyed as much happiness with his poor trunk of a body as most men do who are perfect in body and limb.

Surely men who, destitute of the bodily organs considered indispensable to success and comfort in life, can manage not only to keep out of sight their defects, but to obtain celebrity in spite of them, deserve to be called "masters of the situation."

But great and difficult as is the work of overcoming the physical obstacles that impede our progress through this world, greater and more difficult is the work of subduing the impulses and passions of our natures,—the *lusts* that war against the *soul*. To overcome moral evil, to get the better of selfishness, sensuality, pride, anger and revenge, to sway the sceptre over the turbulent emotions of the soul, is to show oneself master indeed. "*Equanimity!*" This was the last watchword given to his guard by the Roman emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, the noblest of the pagans, the crown and flower of the Stoic philosophy. In this word were summed up the principles and practices of his life. It was from his association with Diognetus, the Stoic, that he learned "to work hard, to deny himself, to avoid listening to slander, to endure misfortune, never to deviate

from his purpose, to be grave without affectation, not frequently to say to any man nor to write in a letter that 'I have no leisure,' nor continually to excuse the neglect of ordinary duties by alleging urgent occupations." It is a blemish on the character of this great man that he persecuted the Christians, or allowed them to be persecuted; but this was doubtless through ignorance of their principles and practices, evidently regarding them as opponents to social order and foes to the empire; but apart from this he has given to the world one of the finest examples of the possibilities of human nature, being constant in misfortune, not elated by prosperity, never "carrying things to the sweating point," presenting in a time of universal corruption and self-indulgence, a nature pure, sweet, unruffled and self-denying.

Equanimity! 'Tis a grand, good word. As we speak it there rises up before the mind's eye from out the dim and classic past another figure, most unprepossessing in appearance, a flat-nosed, thick-lipped, goggle-eyed, bare-footed man in homely garb, the very opposite to the princely Antoninus, who yet despite his ugliness and poverty, occupies a foremost position among the teachers of the world, not less by the philosophy which he practiced than that which he taught. By nature irascible, Socrates had learned to control his feelings and maintain an unruffled spirit under the greatest provocation. You remember how when his vixenish wife once concluded a fit of scolding by throwing over him a bucket of water, he calmly remarked, "After the thunder comes the shower;" and when she struck him, to some friends who urged him to strike back he answered, "I do not care to make sport for you, nor have you stand by and say, 'Go it, Socrates,' 'Go it, Xantippe,' as boys do when dogs fight, urging them on by clapping hands." It seems to me that his mastery of the situation in this instance was hardly less heroic than when conversing on the immortality of the soul and comforting his friends as he drank the bitter hemlock and felt the fatal poison creeping through his veins!

Master of the situation it is easy to be when the sun shines

bright, the perfume of flowers is wafted on the breeze, and the songs of summer birds fill the air. Not so easy when clouds of sorrow darken the sky, and the cold breath of disappointment chills the heart. The author of "How to be Happy though Married" tells the story of a bride and groom traveling in Switzerland, who essayed to climb the Alps. The lady, who at home had never ascended a hill higher than a church, was much alarmed, and had to be carried by the guards with her eyes blindfolded so as not to witness the horrors of the passage. The bridegroom walked close beside her, expostulating respecting her fear. He spoke in honeymoon accents, but the rarefaction of the air made every syllable audible. "You told me, Leonora, that you always felt happy, no matter where you were, so long as you were in my company. Then, why are you not happy now?" "Yes, Charles, I did," she answered, sobbing hysterically; "but I never meant above the snow line!" Yet a woman may be master (or mistress) of the situation even "above the snow line." An intimate friend of the greatest American novelist tells this story: "One wintry day Hawthorne, in his office in the Custom House at Salem, received notification that his services would no longer be required. With heaviness of heart he repaired to his humble home. His young wife recognizes that something is wrong, and waits for him to break the silence. At length he falters out, 'I am removed from office.' Then, without speaking a word, she leaves the room. She returns in a few minutes with fuel, and kindles a bright fire with her own hands. Then she brings pens, ink and paper, and sets them beside the gloomy man. Then, touching him on the shoulder as he turns to her beaming face, she says: 'Now you can write your book.' The clouds cleared away. The lost office looks like a cage from which he had escaped." The "Scarlet Letter" was finished, and a marvellous success rewarded the author and his plucky wife, who had shown herself "Mistress of the Situation."

The recitation room of a college professor affords a fine field for the display of that mental and moral supremacy which

comes from self-possession. College boys are (or used to be) so full of spirits, so fond of sport, so quick to notice and so ready to take advantage of any weakness on the part of an instructor that he is often placed in a very trying position, and woe to that teacher who loses his head. All are not so prompt to perceive and grasp the situation as Prof. Blackie, late Professor of Greek in the University of Edinburgh, and author of a little work on "Self-Culture," which has had a deservedly large circulation on both sides of the Atlantic. The story goes that he was one day lecturing to a new class with whose *personelle* he was imperfectly acquainted. A student rose to read a paragraph, his book in his left hand. "Sir," thundered Blackie, "hold your book in your right hand," and, as the student would have spoken, "No words, sir; your right hand, I say!" The student held up his right arm, ending piteously at the wrist. "Sir, I hae nae right hand," he said. Before Blackie could open his mouth a storm of hisses filled the room, and drowned his voice. Then the professor left his chair, went to the student whom he had unwittingly hurt, and, putting his arms around the lad's shoulders, drew him close to his breast. "My boy," he said (and every word, though spoken softly, was heard in the hushed room), "my boy, you'll forgive me that I was over-rough; I did not know, I did not know." He then turned to the students, and, with a look and tone that came straight from his great heart, he said, "And let me say to you all, I am rejoiced to be shown that I am teaching a class of gentlemen." The cheers of the Scottish lads who witnessed this scene, and heard these words, proved to the big-hearted, as well as big-brained, professor that he was "Master of the Situation."

In my college days (if it be allowable on an occasion of this kind to tell tales out of school) we had a professor whose classroom was usually a circus (including several clowns) from the beginning to the end of the recitation. The flow of fun was often fast and furious, and it was very little of information that we carried away from the recitation; not that the professor was not master of his subject, but because he was not master of

himself, and showed too plainly his vexation at the pranks of the boys. Once he rose to the occasion. When the carnival of sport was at its height he suddenly discovered one of the courtliest and most dignified of the students actually aiding and abetting the mischief. With a countenance full of astonishment, he turned toward the delinquent, and in a tone of deep reproach, such as that with which the dying Cæsar may have addressed his treacherous friend, he cried out, "Et tu, Brute!" A shout greeted the exclamation, and for five minutes at least Professor K. was "Master of the Situation."

How seductive is the syren voice of temptation when even grey-haired Senators are overpowered by it! What honor then is due to the youthful hero who, in response to the solicitations of an Egyptian charmer plying those arts which Cleopatra practiced with such success long years afterwards upon Mark Antony, exclaimed, "How can I do this great wickedness and sin against God?" There is no doubt that the temptations of men in public life are very great. The sugar trust and the coal trust and the oil trust and the steel trust and the whiskey trust and all the other trusts have immense resources at their disposal, and that they use them to corrupt legislation there is no doubt, else how happens it that men who enter Congress poor men become in a few years millionaires? Not *all* men in public life are corruptible by any means, nor is this age probably more venal than the preceding; but the corruption in politics is general enough to make conspicuous in the history of our country the example of the immortal Samuel Adams, who when offered a lucrative office by the Tory governor of Massachusetts if he would take the side of the king during the revolutionary struggle, indignantly replied: "All the money in the treasury of King George is not sufficient to buy me!" The tariff question would have been settled long ere this if our Senators had been less interested in the stock market, and rising above personal and partisan considerations and realizing that they were the servants of the people, had shown themselves "Masters of the Situation."

Now if we come to inquire into the elements of character which are essential to this supremacy in the realms of matter, mind and morals, of which we are speaking, I would place at the head the possession of a *kingly spirit*. Not self-conceit, nor self-assurance, nor self-consciousness, but *self-appreciation* is requisite to the assertion of true manhood; that *self-respect* which tramples upon everything that is mean and cowardly and false and degrading, and aspires after everything that is noble and pure and true and good. We are cautioned in the Word of God against thinking of ourselves "more highly than we ought to think;" but we are not commanded to think meanly of ourselves. It is *relatively* that we are not to think too highly of ourselves; *individually* we cannot have too high an opinion of ourselves. Surely if God made me in his own image, and put me in possession of this world, if He thought me of sufficient worth to send His Son from Heaven on the errand of my salvation, I should appreciate my position and put honor upon *myself*, not depreciating others who equally with myself are God's children, each man a king in his own realm. As Milton finely puts it in his essay on "The Reason of Church Government," "He that holds himself in reverence and due esteem, both for the dignity of God's image upon him and the price of his redemption, which he thinks is visibly marked upon his forehead, accounts himself both a fit person to do the noblest and godliest deeds, and much better worth than to deject and defile with such a debasement and such a pollution as sin is, himself so highly ransomed and ennobled to a new friendship and filial relation with God. Nor can he fear so much the reproach and offence of others, as he dreads and would blush at the reflection of his own severe and modest eye upon himself, if it should see him doing or imagining that which is sinful, though in the deepest secrecy."

How different is this from the pride of superimposed greatness! You remember the description Merivale gives of the entrance of the Emperor Constantius into his ancient capital. He had gotten himself up regardless of cost. "Painted and

bedizened as an object of Eastern hero-worship, such as Ninus or Semiramis or the Lama of Thibet or the Mikado of Japan, he entered the city. He never allowed himself to glance to the right or to the left. His curiosity had been brought under perfect control. Standing immovable in his chariot he yielded to no jolt of the wheels; he never spat; he never wiped his mouth nor rubbed his nose; never shifted a hand or a finger. Only when passing under some lofty arch or portal he was seen to bow his head slightly, as if he were wont to esteem himself something more elevated than human." He no doubt thought that he was master of the situation, but he only showed himself a fool. This is not the dignity with which *God* has clothed man. It is not lordship over his fellows, it is not the possession of kingly pomp and power that makes a man a king, but the possession of a KINGLY SPIRIT.

"My crown" (exclaims the unfortunate king in the play of Shakespeare) is in my heart,
Not on my head.

Not decked with diamonds and Indian stones,
Nor to be seen: my crown is called *content*,
A crown it is that seldom kings enjoy."

King Henry VI., Part III., Scene I.

A spirit that, like that of the Apostle Paul, will enable us "in whatever state we are to be content," to make the best of things, to help ourselves instead of being dependent upon others, to keep out of sight our trials and misfortunes and not burden others with them, is the spirit we should cultivate. "We mortals," says George Eliot, "men and women, devour many a disappointment between breakfast and dinner-time, keep back the tears and look a little pale about the lips, and in answer to inquiries say, 'Oh, nothing!' Pride helps us, and pride is not a bad thing when it only urges us to hide our own hurts, not to hurt others."

A *regal spirit* is the first thing necessary to make us masters of the situation.

The *second* requisite is *knowledge*. To master the situation

one must *know* the situation. It has not been left to this generation to discover that "knowledge is power." The saying is as *true* as it is old. Carlyle's "kenning" or knowing man is the genuine king. The reason that the children of Issachar were of so great help to David in the transference to him of the kingdom after the death of Saul was not that they were so numerous or so valiant, but so prompt to know the right thing to do. "They had understanding of the times to know what Israel ought to do." One reason that we have so many misfits in the pulpit, at the bar, in official positions, is the lack of ability to comprehend the situation, and to discern the signs of the times. To rule over nature, a knowledge is needed of the laws of nature; to rule over mind, a knowledge of the laws of mind; to rule over self, I must know myself. To make laws for the people, a knowledge of the people's wants is needed. To rule in the state a man should understand the science of government. Here is seen the benefit of a college education as a preparation for the work of life. It shows a young man his powers and how to exercise them. A young man cannot be too thoroughly equipped for the profession or calling that awaits him. Few are the men engaged in the active work of a profession who do not feel that if they had their college days to live over again, they would do more thorough work. As for myself, to make an honest confession, I have felt all through my professional life as if I had been thrust into positions (as on this present occasion) before I was prepared to fill them.

For one thing, however, I am thankful,—that I took my course at an institution where the proper proportion is observed in the curriculum between the various branches of a liberal education, and due attention paid to the classics. The study of *nature* is not of course to be depreciated. I do not forget that we are indebted to physical science for the steam engine, the telegraph, the telephone, the phonograph, the trolley cars, electric lights and many other wonderful and useful inventions; but the study of HUMAN nature is all-important, and what gives the mind such an insight into the workings of the emotions and passions of

the soul as the study of the grand old dramatists and poets, Eschylus, Sophocles and Euripides and the ^fblind bard of Scio's rocky isle?" I make no pretensions of being a classical scholar; but this I can say, that next to the knowledge of the Bible, Milton and Shakespeare, I have found most satisfaction, pleasure and help in the little knowledge I possess of the classic authors of Greece and Rome.

Speaking of the knowledge of the Bible recalls a scene which took place in the old court-house, which used to stand, as some here may remember, in Centre Square, and was taken down in 1853. The walls of that venerable building witnessed many displays of forensic eloquence when such giants at the bar as Thaddeus Stevens, Ray Frazer, James Champneys, Emlen Franklin, A. L. Hayes, Newton Lightner and others who might be named, lived and flourished. But the old court-house witnessed one day an unusual scene. It was a debate between a Presbyterian preacher and a noted phrenologist. Prof. O. S. Fowler, in a series of lectures on Phrenology, in this city, had advanced materialistic views, which Dr. John McNair, pastor of the Presbyterian Church, thought proper to controvert from the pulpit. The phrenologist rashly challenged Dr. McNair to a public debate. The challenge was promptly accepted, and the discussion came off in the court-house in the presence of a great crowd of people, Judge Hayes, if my memory serves me, being in the chair. My recollection of the circumstances (like that of many other things that happened in my boyhood days) is very dim and indistinct; but one passage of the debate stands out clearly in my memory. The professor insisted upon man's independence of divine help in the overcoming of moral evil—arguing that his will was absolutely free—and emphasizing the fact that the Bible itself calls upon us to "work out our own salvation." He laid great stress on that expression: "Work out your own salvation." He didn't know as much of the Bible, however, as he thought he did, and it didn't take Dr. McNair long to reply to that argument.

Rising to his feet, and opening his Testament at the second chapter of Philippians and twelfth verse, he said: "Yes, the apostle does command us; 'Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling,' but in the same breath, he adds, 'for *it is God which worketh in you* both to will and to do, of his good pleasure.'" The professor was completely disconcerted, and the doctor was master of the situation. *Knowledge*, then, is necessary to the filling of our sphere in life.

But something more than knowledge is needed to make a man a force in the world. Omniscience itself would be impotence without the power to will. "Energy of *will—self-determining* power—is the soul of every great character. Where it is there is life; where it is wanting, there is faintness, helplessness, despondency." "The strong man and the water-fall," says the proverb, "channel their own path." The energetic leader of noble spirit not only wins a way for himself, but carries others with him.

It was Columbus's power of will that gave the new world to the old; Luther's power of will that gave the Reformation to Europe; Cromwell's, that freed England from the tyranny of Charles I, and Washington's, that freed America from the oppression of Great Britain. It was

"the unconquerable will
And courage never to submit or yield,"

that made our own Grant the greatest general of modern times; proving himself master of the situation, not merely when dictating terms of surrender to General Pembroke, but when writing his "Memoirs" amid the sufferings of a fearful disease, to repair the wreck of his fortune lost through the dishonesty of a trusted friend. It is his tremendous will power that has kept Mr. Gladstone so long at the head of affairs in England, making him, perhaps, the most prominent character of this century. The eulogy pronounced by him upon the late Lord Palmerston would, with equal propriety, apply to himself: "I am convinced that it was the force of will, a sense of duty and a determination not to give in, that enabled him to make himself

a model for all of us who yet remain and follow him, with feeble and unequal steps, in the discharge of our duties. It was that force of will that in point of fact did not so much struggle against the infirmities of age, but actually repelled them and kept them at a distance."

But the crowning quality of the man who masters the situation is *Faith*—faith in the invisible, in God, in His Word, in His providence, in His help, in His justice, in His wisdom, in His truthfulness and love; that faith which the apostle characterizes as "the assurance of (literally, giving substance to) things hoped for, the proving of things not seen." "This is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith." This it is that makes men *martyrs*, ready to brave, in defence of their principles, death in its most dreadful forms. The dungeon, the rack, the sword, the flame, has no terrors for the man who, like Stephen, beholds the heavens opened above him, and sees the Son of man standing on the right hand of God. This belief in the invisible was the basis of the character of the Puritans, to whose independence of spirit Macaulay pays so magnificent a tribute. "They were men whose minds had derived a peculiar character from the daily contemplation of superior beings and eternal interests. Not content with acknowledging in general terms an overruling Providence, they habitually ascribed every event to the will of the great Being for whose power nothing was too vast, for whose inspection nothing is too minute. To know Him, to serve Him, to enjoy Him, was the great end of human existence. They recognized no title to superiority but His favor, and confident of that favor, they despised all the accomplishments and all the dignities of the world. If they were unacquainted with the works of philosophers and poets, they were deeply read in the oracles of God. If their names were not found in the register of heralds, they felt assured that they were recorded in the book of life. If their steps were not accompanied by a splendid train of menials, legions of ministering spirits had charge over them. Their palaces were houses not made with hands, their diadems crowns of glory that fade

not away." The great Milton was not a Puritan, but like them he lived

"As ever in his great Task-master's eye."

Like them, he kept his mind continually fixed on an Almighty Judge and an eternal reward. And hence he acquired that contempt for external circumstances, that fortitude, that tranquillity of mind, that inflexible resolution that made him in surroundings the most unhappy "Master of the Situation."

"Nitor in adversum, nec me, qui cætera vincit
Impetus, et rapido contrarius evehor orbi."

When Cato, the friend of Pompey, found that the republican cause was irretrievably lost by the defeat at Thapsus, sending his slave for his sword, he seized it and exclaimed, "*Now I am master of myself.*" A little while after this he plunged it into his body. There being nothing left to live for, in his judgment, it was time to die. This was *stoicism*, but not *CHRISTIANITY*. To bear evils with fortitude because we are *fated* to bear them, and to end our life when there seems to be no remedy for these evils, is a different thing from bearing them with fortitude because it is the will of heaven, and our trials are inflicted by the hand of Love. To *flee* the situation is not to *master* it. How different from Cato's, the spirit of him against whom Satan hurled his fiercest darts! I refer not to HIM, the Crucified, who, by virtue of His Godhead, could not but be master of *every* situation in which he was placed, but to that patriarch of old, who, a man of like passions and infirmities to ourselves, was delivered into the hands of Satan that it might be seen whether virtue is proof against trial, and whether a man can be true to God, when the prospect of reward is taken away. The storm of trial in all its fury is let loose upon him. He is reduced in a moment from the pinnacle of human felicity to the depth of human woe. Like a tree stripped by a sudden blast of all its leaves, he is stripped in a moment of property, servants, children, health, everything that makes life desirable. He is taunted by his wife, mocked by his few surviving servants,

derided by his neighbors, accused by his friends. All hope seems gone. There is nothing left in life worth living for. Death would be grateful to him; but he does not talk of suicide. Curses would be natural; but blessings fill his lips. The blackness of despair hovers over him; but his heart does not break. Baring his breast to the storm, and raising his streaming eyes heavenward, with unfaltering confidence in God, he answers to the reproaches of his friends, "Hold your peace, let me alone that I may speak, and *let come on me what will!*" "Though He slay me, yet will I trust in Him!" "For I know that my Redeemer liveth!"

This is the nobility of soul; this, the perfection of knowledge; this, the inflexibility of will; this, the sublimity of faith, that makes a man "master of the situation." No harm can come to such a man.

"As some tall cliff that lifts its awful form,
Swells from the vale, and midway leaves the storm,
Though round its breast, the rolling clouds are spread,
Eternal sunshine settles on its head."

IV.

CRITICISM OF THE ANSELMIC THEORY OF THE ATONEMENT.

BY REV. A. J. HELLER, D.D.

EVER since the period of reflection upon the facts of revelation began, the Atonement has received earnest consideration. All orthodox Christians believe in Christ as the only Mediator and Saviour; but amongst them there is a great difference of opinion concerning the manner in which the salvation of the race is accomplished.

Man as a rational creature must employ himself in gaining a scientific knowledge of both temporal and spiritual things. Blind faith is superstition. If man is to give a reason of the hope that is in him, that reason must conform to the laws of thought.

Man comes to a full knowledge of truth through a long process of eliminating error. A theory may be satisfactory for a time; but with the growth of thought it must eventually be felt to be insufficient, and must yield to another, which, fulfilling the intellectual requirements of its age, will in turn give place to one of greater fulness and accuracy. This accounts for the frequent demand for the revision of confessions of faith that are defective in the degree that the mind of the Church has outgrown their inadequate apprehension of the truth. Nor has the doctrine of the Atonement been exempt from this process.

Of the many efforts to give a rational explanation of the Atonement, the moral, the governmental and the Anselmic theories have been most prominent; but the last-named has exerted by far the widest and most potent influence in modern

times. Anselm was the first theologian to plant himself upon the position of philosophy, and challenge, as Dr. Shedd expresses it, "for the doctrine of vicarious satisfaction, both a rational necessity and a scientific rationality." The doctrine as formulated by Anselm was, in its objective form, adopted without any modification by the Reformers of the sixteenth century, and embodied in most of the confessional symbols of the time. It was supplemented, however, by the addition of a subjective element defining the mode by which the sinner comes into the possession of that which has been objectively provided for him. The Reformers also first advanced the theory of an active and a passive obedience, which figures so largely in later attempts to clear up and defend the doctrine satisfactorily. Dr. Charles Hodge in his *Systematic Theology* has discussed the theory at at length and with marvellous skill. He is, perhaps, its best and ablest champion. But, notwithstanding this great effort of Dr. Hodge's, the thought of the present seems to be traveling away from the theory of Anselm, and reaching out after a better solution of the problem,—one that will be less open to the attacks of scientific criticism.

Anselm defines sin as debt. Man owes perfect obedience to the Divine law and will. This obedience is not rendered; hence the guilt of man. The extinction of this guilt consists not in subjecting the will to its rightful sovereign, but in giving satisfaction for past offences. It is impossible for man to render perfect obedience to the law, and equally impossible for him to endure the penalty of transgressing it. And yet this impossibility does not release him from his indebtedness or guilt, because it is the effect of his own free act. The love and compassion of God abstracted from His justice cannot remit the sin of man without any satisfaction, because this would be irregularity and injustice. If unrighteousness is not punished, then it is not subject to law of any sort; it enjoys more liberty than righteousness itself. It would contradict the Divine justice if the creature could defraud the Creator of that which is His due, without giving any satisfaction for the robbery. There

is no attribute more just and necessary than that punitive righteousness which maintains the honor of God. "This justice, indeed, is God Himself, so that to satisfy it is to satisfy God Himself." There are two ways of satisfying this attribute. First, by inflicting the punishment upon the transgressor. This, however, would be incompatible with his salvation, because the punishment must be eternal to offset the infinite demerit of robbing God of His honor. It is plain, therefore, that man cannot render satisfaction for his own sin. The second and only other way is by substituted or vicarious suffering. But here everything depends upon the nature and character of the being who renders the substituted satisfaction. Justice must not be defrauded by substituting a less for a more valuable satisfaction. A true vicarious satisfaction requires that something be offered to justice for the sin of man that is greater than all that is not God. But God alone is greater than all that is not God. Only God, therefore, can make this satisfaction. But, on the other hand, man must render it; otherwise it would not be a satisfaction for man's sin. Consequently the required and adequate satisfaction must be theanthropic, *i. e.*, rendered by a God-man. The theanthropic obedience and suffering of Christ was not due from His mere humanity. This was sinless, and justice had no claims upon it in the way of suffering. And, moreover, only a man's obedience, and not that of a God-man, could be required of a man. Consequently this Divine-human obedience and suffering was a surplusage, in respect to the man Christ Jesus, and might overflow and inure to the benefit of a third party.* For centuries this theory has been cherished as one of the bulwarks of the Christian religion. But whilst it has satisfied and comforted many, it has also disturbed and repelled many honest and thoughtful men. In fact, it never formed a consensus of opinion for any single Christian denomination, much less for the universal church.

We accept the following points involved in the statement of

* See Shedd's *History of Christian Doctrines*, Vol. II., page 277 ff.

the Anselmic doctrines as being entirely in accord with the Word of God and the facts of experience:

1. The entire rejection of the notion of Satan's claims which formed so important an element in previously reigning theories.

2. The pronounced assertion that man is sinful and utterly helpless.

3. That salvation must come from God, and that this is freely bestowed in the gift of His Son.

But it is not so clear that Anselm's theory of the manner in which the salvation of man is accomplished is consistent with the character of God, His government, and human reason. It has been said that his peculiar view was largely due to two things: his profound sense of the heinousness of sin, and his exalted idea of the inflexible justice of God. This, no doubt, is true, but Anselm failed to form a correct conception of the nature of sin, and consequently failed to define or characterize it properly. He called sin debt. We think that this word does not adequately express the nature of sin with its attendant consequences.

The word debt does not convey the idea of moral turpitude. Men contract debts without committing any wrong, and they pay them without thinking for a moment that they are undergoing penal suffering. Even if a man who contracted a debt with the sincere purpose of paying it should by some misfortune be utterly incapacitated to do so, he could not be charged with wrong-doing for his failure. To inflict penal suffering upon such a man would be an act of the greatest injustice. As soon as human governments recognize this principle, they abolish imprisonment for debt.

The assumption and payment of a debt by another than the debtor himself cannot by any fair reasoning be construed into an act of penal suffering, or punishment, inflicted by the creditor. It is an act of benevolence, a deed of charity, a voluntary gift on the part of the donor, costing, it may be, more or less self-denial or even suffering, whereby the sacrifice is made all the more precious and the charity more glorious.

If, however, debt is contracted with the intention of defrauding the creditor, then the case is radically different. The debtor becomes a criminal, for his act is a crime. He was influenced by motives of selfishness and hatred. He has committed an offense against God, his neighbor, and himself. He has violated his conscience and accordingly smarts under its disapproval. The simple payment of the debt, no matter whether it is done by himself or some one else for him, does not meet the requirements of the case. It may meet the demands of human law, which is in commandment only and has to do with the external acts and relations of men; but it does not satisfy divine or moral law. It does not restore the offender to his previous state of purity and righteousness from which by his act he fell. His conscience must be purged from the dead works of sin; it must be changed from an accusing to an approving conscience, and in order to do this the inner depravity resulting from his act must be removed. Only in this way can the conscience be set at rest and the offender reconciled to him against whom he sinned. And this cannot be done by offering a *quid pro quo*. The crime cannot be separated from the criminal. Correctly speaking, not crimes but criminals are judged and punished. It is not the crime, therefore, but the criminal with whom we have to do. There is but one way by which the criminal may purge himself and become reconciled to the offended party, and that is by the scriptural method, namely, entire renunciation of his act by true repentance and hearty confession. This implies and brings about a change of motives and cessation from wrongdoing. Love again takes the place of hatred; charity, of selfishness; holiness, of sin, and righteousness, of unrighteousness. This change of mental state, or moral condition, restores the offender to inward soundness, satisfies the conscience and reconciles him to the offended party who, by the same divine law, is obligated to forgive. "*Let the wicked man forsake his ways and the unrighteous man his thoughts; and let him return unto the Lord and he will have mercy upon him; and to our God, for he will abundantly pardon.*" Again: "*For he shall have judgment without mercy who showed no mercy.*"

It is plain that the term debt is wholly inadequate, and that it does not properly define or characterize sin. Sin is crime. It is an offense against God and also against man himself, by which the latter becomes depraved. Man's transgression effects no change in God. He remains forever the same immutable, absolutely moral being. But man becomes corrupt and falls under the just condemnation of God and his own guilty conscience. For this there is no equivalent to be found anywhere, nor in any person or thing. Immunity from service or penalty cannot be purchased. The sale of indulgences, before or after the fact, while it existed, encouraged disobedience and deepened corruption. The only remedy is purge the sinner and bring him back into the ways of love and obedience.

The Bible never calls sin debt. It is true that in the Lord's prayer the word is used by Matthew; but an examination of the context shows that it is there used in a tropical sense.

The fundamental error is in making human government the exact counterpart or model of divine government. The parallelism does not hold. Human government consists in commandment alone. It is based on divine government and designed to serve it,—in other words, human law derives its virtue from the moral law and serves to realize the force of the latter,—but it is, nevertheless an outward, arbitrary enactment, and has to do with the external regulation and adjustment of social relations. In the exercise of human government the pronouncing of judgment or the infliction of punishment may be arrested, deferred, or set aside altogether; and when punishment is inflicted it is, in the nature of the case, never adequate to the crime or offense.

On the contrary, in divine government the law does not consist in commandment alone. In respect to God it is *ex divina natura*,—inherent in Him. It is His mode of action. It is not something over Him and by which He is dominated, neither is it a creation of His which is separable from Him and which can be changed, suspended, or abrogated. In respect to creation the moral law is, as Burney expresses it, "a concreation of the

human mind." The moral law is therefore not simply an outward or objective statute, to regulate man's outward life, but it is inherent in his constitution. It is that which necessitates the correlation and harmonious action of all his mental and moral powers. The law is subjective as well as objective. To disobey is an offense not against God only, but against man himself, by which his nature becomes depraved, and he suffers the penalty of death as the immediate consequence of his act. The punishment is parallel with the transgression, is inseparable from it, coterminous with it, and always adequate to it. God's wrath is hurled against the sinner in no outward, or extranatural way, but through the law operating within him. If man is obedient to the moral law, the greatest possible good results; if he disobeys, he suffers the stings and terrors of a guilty conscience.

The Anselmic theory alleges that, since man has sinned against an infinite God, his transgression is infinite, and that consequently the punishment must be infinite also. However it has never yet been satisfactorily demonstrated or proven how a finite creature can perform an infinite act. The theory reflects the thought of the times in which it originated. In those days offenses were graded according to the rank or dignity of the persons against whom they were committed. It was a much greater crime to offend a prince or lord than by the same act to offend a private individual. Now God being infinite, the transgression of His law was held to be an infinite offense which demanded infinite punishment. But in these days it is coming to be well understood that sin is a violation of man's own nature; that the transgression is neither heightened nor lowered by the person against whom it is committed; that it affects the moral status of the transgressor, and that he suffers in his own mind and conscience all the same, whether he sins against prince or peasant. The punishment begins, continues, and ends with the transgressing.

Dr. Charles Hodge concedes that punishment, or penal suffer-

ing, is connected with sin and that sin is its antecedent cause, but he holds at the same time that the punishment is separable from the crime and that the judgment may be arrested. This would be correct if God's moral government were constructed after the model of human government. But the law of God is written upon the heart of man just as the laws of the material world are inherent in it and manifest themselves in its modes of action. Man's transgression brings its penalty with it; the two are conjoined as cause and effect, and God himself cannot separate them. The soul that sins is guilty and alone can and does suffer the penalty, but if it stops sinning and is obedient to the divinely ordained law of its life, guilt disappears and suffering ceases. If the devil were to stop sinning and return to obedience, his punishment would likewise cease. Punishment is not of itself eternal. In fact it, like sin and guilt, has no existence apart from the personal subject who is guilty and amenable to a personal God who is just.

This brings us now to the heart of Anselm's scheme which consists in its substitutional and imputative character. According to this, Christ takes man's place and satisfies the justice of God by suffering the penalty which would otherwise fall upon man.

An inadequate view of sin naturally leads to an inadequate view of atonement. For notwithstanding the austerity and severity of the substitutional theory, it, nevertheless, falls short of meeting the requirements of man's condition. Even if sins could be atoned for in this way, regeneration and sanctification are requisite, and must be accomplished in some other way than by simply canceling man's debt. Man must be quickened into new life, restored to fellowship with God and obedience to His word, which implies the purgation of his nature and the bestowal upon him of absolutely needed wisdom and strength.

Substitution is the putting of one person or thing in the place of another for the purpose of rendering an equivalent service for that other. This is possible where no exchange of mental or moral qualities is involved. An iron pillar, for

instance, may be substituted for a wooden one ; a horse may be substituted for an ox in the team, and one man may take the place of another in the ranks of an army, or in any other position in which he is capable of rendering an equivalent service. But in the sphere of the ethical substitution is impossible. Men cannot exchange consciences and states of mind. The moral consciousness of one person cannot become the possession of another. God, in the act of creating man, here set bounds to the individuals of the race. Indeed we cannot conceive of man being so constituted that he may go out of himself and enter into another. Every man must everywhere and under all conditions of his life, be himself and answer for himself. The guilty conscience of one can no more be exchanged for the good conscience of another, than the diseased or defective eye or hand of one person can be exchanged for the sound or perfect eye or hand of another. The idea of an organic substitute, as Christ has been called, or of a substitute in any sense taking man's place and suffering in his stead is, therefore, utterly untenable.

The absurdity of the theory of substitution becomes still more evident when we consider the idea of a double imputation which it involves. God imputes to Christ the sin and guilt of man and punishes Him in man's stead, and then, in like manner, He imputes Christ's righteousness to man. Christ came into actual possession of that which is imputed to Him. Otherwise the alleged penal sufferings of Christ would be a mere sham, and the theory would resolve itself into a mere juggling with words. If Christ is to fulfill all the requisite conditions of a real substitute, the imputation must clothe Him with the actual sin and guilt of man. The transfer must be not in name only, but in fact, so that the God-Man becomes possessed of the terrible burden of a guilty conscience and consequently suffers the penal wrath of Almighty God. From this stand-point we have heard Luther's allegation that Christ was the greatest sinner that ever was upon the earth proclaimed in a most positive manner.

Looking at the matter now from the stand-point of the justice of God which the theory lays itself out to save and honor, how, it may be asked, can God be just and yet reckon the guilt of the transgressor to the obedient, or punish the innocent instead of the guilty, and in this way shield the guilty from the consequences of his crime, or allow him to escape the punishment justly due him. How does this square with the declaration: "The soul that sinneth it shall die?" What parent would be guilty of dealing so unjustly with his children? and, if he did, would it not be subversive of moral training and destructive of the unity, harmony, and peace of the family? Human government revolts at the idea, and does not allow the faithful, law-abiding citizen to take the place of the criminal and suffer instead of him. And even if it did, it would not change the character of either. The just would be just still, and the guilty, guilty still; while the innocent would perish and the guilty escape.

In this way, however, it is claimed the innocent Christ, upon whom justice has no claims, suffers in man's stead; and, furthermore, that His infinite character gives infinite value to his sufferings.

But in this way He only makes satisfaction for past transgressions, and hence provision must be made for the present and future honor of God. This is done by Christ's preceptive obedience. No more than the obedience of a man is required of Him. As God-Man, however, He renders more obedience than the whole human race can, and, therefore, His obedience is more than is required; consequently it overflows and the surplus inures to man.

Now ability is the measure of duty. One must do his whole duty, but no one can do more than his duty. This is distinctly set forth in the law which says, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy mind, with all thy soul, and with all thy strength." Christ's obligation to obey this law was measured by His ability, and He fulfilled it to the last jot and tittle. Could He as the divine Son of God do more than the

law required of Him? Could He do more as man? Can any one? One would suppose that to ask these questions would be to answer them. But Anselm answers that while neither Divinity nor humanity can do this, a theanthropic person can, and the whole doctrine of the supererogation of works has its roots in this fiction. Its fallacy is evident, for it certainly involves a false view of the person of Christ. The union of the divine and the human in Christ is not similar to a chemical affinity. By chemical affinity two elements whose properties, or modes of behavior, as the Germans say, are altogether different unite to form a third whose properties again differ from either of its component elements. The Saviour is no such *tertium quid*. His person is not an amalgamation of the two natures by which He can perform amalgamated acts different from those proceeding from His divine or His human nature, acts which are of such value that they more than meet the demands of the moral law. On the contrary the divine in Him is still divine and the human is still human. His divine acts, must be referred to His divinity, and His human acts to His humanity. Christ's ability to love, as the God-Man, is infinite, and so is His obligation to fulfill the whole law.

Anselm declares that, "Only Deity can satisfy the claims of Deity. But, on the other hand, man must render it, otherwise it would not be a satisfaction for *man's* sin." We have only to remark that this is a distinction without a difference. To satisfy means to make satisfaction, and to make satisfaction and to render satisfaction certainly mean the same thing. If not, to what extent does each make satisfaction? or are there two satisfactions made, one by God and another by man? The declarations as they stand are wholly meaningless.

The error is in large part due to the reigning system of philosophy which dominated the thinking of Anselm and continues to rule the thinking of the adherents of his scheme. The attributes justice, guilt, righteousness, etc., are regarded as real entities having an existence independent of the persons to whom they belong and separable from them. Anselm recognizes

justice not as an attribute only of God, but goes so far as to say that it is God Himself. He says: "To satisfy justice is to satisfy God." But justice is no such central element in the character of God. It is never said that God is justice, but that God is love. God is ruled by love, which means, not that love is something apart from and superior to Him, but that love is the central characteristic or attribute of His being. Justice expresses that quality of God's nature by which He is true to Himself and to His purposes which are altogether good. By the justice of God is simply meant that God is just, by the righteousness of Christ that Christ is righteous, and by the guilt of man that man is guilty. They are personal attributes, and therefore not separable or transferable. If the persons were to perish, the attributes would perish with them. Destroy the sun, and its light ceases. Christ is righteous. He obeys and suffers in His own stead. He cannot lay by a store of surplus righteousness, to be doled out as a merchantable quantity. A treasury of good works, for the benefit of those who lack in obedience, kept replenished by the supererogatory works of the over-pious and over-obedient is a Romish device which, while it encourages the faithful to be fruitful of good works, at the same time and in the same degree, puts a premium upon carelessness and indifference in others.* Amidst the conflict which seems to rage between the attributes of justice and guilt, justice and mercy, and so on, in paragraph after paragraph of the substitutional theory, one is sometimes constrained to cry out, Oh! where is God? Attributes may be abstracted for the purpose of metaphysical treatment; but here they must be considered in the concrete. It is not justice in the abstract but a just God; not guilt in the abstract, but a guilty person with whom we have to do. God is just, but He is also merciful, therefore, if a man repents and cleanseth his way, and returns to filial obedience, He forgives. And what satisfies God satisfies justice.

*At this point the writer desires to acknowledge the help derived from a perusal of Dr. Burney's work on Soteriology.

If according to the Anselmic doctrine of atonement God's justice is satisfied, and more than satisfied by the sufferings and death of Christ, how can it be said that God *forgives* sins? If sin be debt and the debt is paid, what then remains to be remitted or forgiven? Does it not logically follow that now God is indebted to man to the amount of man's salvation, and that mercy still is far from contributing anything towards it? It may be answered, "God graciously bestowed His Son to bear the penalty of man's sin, and that this was an act of mercy." It may seem bold to say it, but we submit that this is too much mercy for the good of God's government and wholly subverts the idea of justice while it ignores the conditions upon which salvation is offered. If Deity satisfied the claims of Deity in man's stead, then God punished God, or God paid to Himself the debt due unto Him by man. This resolves itself into a total abrogation of the law, and the disobedient have more liberty than the obedient; or into a sovereign act of pardon unconditioned by repentance, confession and faith, for if a debt is paid, it is paid and that is the end of it. If man is still subject to punishment, then the debt is paid twice. For example, if Christ by his sufferings and death paid the penalty of man's transgression, then he paid the penalty of Judas's betrayal, for He died for every man. But Judas betrayed his Lord and suffered the consequences of his crime. According to the theory under review, if consistently carried out, Judas should have had the benefit of the surplusage of Christ's obedience and penal sufferings; otherwise his debt was twice paid. Besides this, such a supposed act of mercy leaves no room for the regeneration, sanctification, and future obedience of the sinner, but leaves him in the precise state and condition in which it found him.

At this point comes into view another difficulty with which the theory is heavily weighted. If Christ by his sufferings and death rendered penal satisfaction for man's sin and by His preceptive obedience fulfilled all righteousness in his stead, why, then, are not all men saved? The advocates of the

theory recognize the logical force of this objection and strive to relieve themselves of it by adopting the view of a limited atonement. Christ made atonement for a definitely limited number of the human race who, as God by His infinite wisdom and foreknowledge knew, would repent and accept salvation. But this only shifts one difficulty to make room for a whole brood of others which must be provided against by still further special pleading. If Christ atoned for a certain number concerning whom it was known that they would believe, then the revelation in Jesus Christ depended upon the faith of that number and was conditioned by it. But we are everywhere throughout the Word of God confronted with the fact that faith depends upon revelation in Christ Jesus. Besides this it only brings out in bolder relief that according to this theory, Christ, who is the Lamb of God which was slain before the foundation of the world, made satisfaction for men's sins before they had committed them, even before they were born, or it was possible for them to sin. They were thus justified and sanctified in advance of any transgression. The debt was paid before it was incurred; the penalty was endured before any crime was committed. Hence men are born and remain forever free from condemnation. But we have not time to pursue this phase of the subject.

The scheme labors mightily to effect a reconciliation between the attributes of God, and so to reconcile God to man rather than reconcile man to God. No change need take place in God. He is the same yesterday, to-day and forever. It is man that is all wrong, and in him alone a change is required. His transgression and sin have corrupted him and placed him in hostility to his environments from the Creator down. And the required change can not be brought about by the assumption of his guilt and consequent penalty, if such a thing were possible, for, as we have already seen, this would not change his nature or character. Infinitely more than this is required.

Let us briefly inquire what atonement is, and what the

Scriptures have to say in regard to it. And first we will consider what constitutes atonement amongst men.

If a man sin against his neighbor, how are the two to become reconciled? Is it to be done by the offended party inflicting punishment upon the offender? By no means. Such a course of procedure would increase the breach already existing between them. The hatred would be intensified and the war become perpetual. No more effectual method could be adopted for breaking up the peaceful relations of families and communities and destroying the comity of states and nations. If all men everywhere, on the principle of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth, were to inflict punishment upon those who wrong them in any way, how long would it take to turn the world into a perfect pandemonium in which might alone would prevail?

As said in a former paragraph, the offender wrongs himself, infracts the law of his own moral being, and so disquiets his own conscience when he commits an act of violence in any form against his neighbor. The only way by which he can make atonement is by repenting of his sin and confessing it. In this way, and in this way only, can he purge his conscience from the evil and set himself right with his neighbor. And if he does so his neighbor against whom he offended is under obligation to forgive. In this way the peace of families, of communities, and of nations is preserved. Atonement, reconciliation between parties, is of daily if not hourly occurrence. He may not be able to explain how or why it is that men become reconciled by so simple a method and preserve their honor; but that they do so is nevertheless a fact.

On the other hand, forgiveness is impossible so long as the offender persists in his attitude of hostility, refusing to repent and confess. Nor can forgiveness follow as the consequence of punishment. Men do not punish in order that they may forgive, or punish and then forgive. If punishment is in order to forgiveness, then those who sin are cancelling their debts by the penal suffering they endure and are entitled, thereby, to

forgiveness. Pardon, however, follows upon repentance and confession, and it means the annihilation of sin and guilt. They cease to exist, as disease and pain cease to exist when the body is restored to health.

All this is in perfect accord with the law prescribed for men by the Saviour, "If thy brother trespass against thee, rebuke him; and if he repent, forgive him. And if he trespass against thee seven times in a day, and seven times in a day turn again to thee, saying, 'I repent,' thou shalt forgive him." "How oft shall my brother offend and I forgive him—until seven times? I say not unto thee until seven times, but until seventy times seven." And he who refuses to forgive the penitent offender himself offends against the divine law of love which governs the moral universe, and so becomes the promoter of hatred, injustice and strife. In the parable of the unmerciful servant these points are very plainly taught by the Saviour.

Sometimes the circumstances are such that, in order to bring about a reconciliation between men, the offices of a mediator are required. In that event the mediator must be a wholly disinterested party. He takes charge of the interests of both offender and offended. But in the performance of his office of peace-maker, he neither takes upon himself the guilt of the offender, nor receives upon himself in any form or degree the wrath of the offended one. The reconciliation is not effected, if it is effected at all, by any such unloading of guilt and wrath upon a third person who is altogether innocent of any transgression of the divine law, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

Now God has not taught the duty of repentance and forgiveness by precept and illustrated it by parables; He has not ingrained that law into the moral constitution of man and set it before him in commandment, and at the same time reserved to Himself another and altogether different law, or mode of action.

Christ is the mediator between God and man. A divine mediator is necessary because man does not and cannot com-

prehend God. He is not God's equal. He is not able to represent God's interests or purposes even in a very small degree. Besides, all men are involved in the corruption and rebellion of sin. Man does not even fully comprehend his own condition of moral depravity nor is he able to provide the wisdom and strength necessary to salvation. These are revealed and made over to him in the person of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who alone is capable of mediating between God and man. And now if Christ as mediator between God and man receives upon himself the wrath of God in consequence of having previously taken upon Himself the sin and guilt of man, then his mediatorship is grounded in a principle and wrought out on lines wholly different from those which are operative and productive of such blessed results amongst men. It is not the wrath, but the love of God; not punishment, but forgiveness upon repentance that commends the Gospel to the hearts and minds of men everywhere. This is in fact its crowning glory.

The word atonement is used but once in the authorized version of the New Testament. At Romans 5:10 *καταλλαγὴν* is translated atonement. But *καταλλαγὴν* means reconciliation and is very properly so translated in the Revised Version. When the authorized version was made, atonement, however, bore this meaning. [*Vide* Trench on Synonyms of the New Testament.

In the Old Testament the Hebrew word כִּפָּר (*kaphar*) which in our English Bibles is translated *atonement*, means a literal covering and is applied to the lid of the ark of the covenant which was placed as a protection to its contents. Of course the word when used in relation to men and their sins is not used in a literal, but typical sense. In respect to the contents of the ark the covering was a protection from injury, rather than a deliverance from injury. All are agreed that in relation to men it means deliverance from sin and restoration to favor and fellowship with God; but there is a difference of opinion here again, as to how the atonement is effected. It is first of all a question of interpretation, and that exposition

which is consistent with God's moral government and the human reason, must be admitted as the correct one.

Those who hold to the substitutional theory claim that atonement means to suffer penalty for sin. They claim that the animal offered in sacrifice was a substitute for him who brought and offered it; that by the laying on of the hands of the offerer his sin and guilt were transferred to the victim, and by the slaughter of the animal expiated. Those who dissent from this view claim for it a radically different meaning. We can only glance at the usage of the word as it appears in the old Testament, but believe that a candid inquiry, however brief, will lead to the confirmation of the non-penal view.

A careful reading of the sixteenth chapter of the book of Leviticus discloses the fact that atonement was to be made for the holy place and the altar. These were not morally unclean, for only he who is possessed of reason and will can become so. Their uncleanness was owing to the uncleanness of the children of Israel. They were ritually unclean. Their uncleanness was similar to that resulting from the touch of a dead body. Only that which is holy is acceptable to God. The atonement for the holy place and the altar surely did not consist in penal suffering. These places could not *transgress*, nor could they *suffer punishment*. Only conscious subjects are capable of moral acts and penal sufferings. If the atonement was by suffering a penalty, then God punished the altar and the holy place. By the sprinkling of the blood upon them by the hand of the priest they were cleansed from ritual defilement, made holy, and hence acceptable to God. In the same way by the sprinkling of blood Aaron made atonement for himself and his house. Similar offerings were in the same way made for the people. If the offerings made for the people were substitutes which suffered the penalty of their sins, then those made for the holy place and altar were in every respect of a like character. If atonement was made for the sins of the people by the infliction of penal sufferings upon the kid, then it was made in the same way for

the uncleanness of the holy place and altar. If the people were punished substitutionally, the holy place and the altar were punished substitutionally. Evidently the atonement did not consist in the slaughter, or death, of the animals, but in the manipulation of the blood by the hand of the priest. "For the life of the flesh is in the blood; and I have given it to you upon the altar to make an atonement for your souls; for it is the blood that maketh atonement for the soul." The slaying of the animal is wholly incidental, but of course necessary in order to get the blood to put upon the altar. It is by the blood embodying the life that the atonement is made, and not by the momentary and unimportant sufferings endured by the animal in the act of being slaughtered. God appointed the blood for a covering of the soul of man, whereby His wrath is turned aside, His favor secured and the man reconciled to him through the pardon of his sins.

Another circumstance must not be overlooked. It was not upon the kid that was slain that Aaron laid his hands and over which he confessed the sins of the people; but upon the kid that was not slaughtered. "And Aaron shall lay both his hands upon the head of the live goat, and confess over him all the iniquities of the children of Israel, and all their transgressions, even all their sins; and he shall put them upon the head of the goat, and shall send him away by the hand of a man that is in readiness into the wilderness; and the goat shall bear upon him all their iniquities into a solitary land." Mark, *all* the sins and iniquities were laid upon this goat that suffered no pains or penalties, but lived, and by living carried away not only the guilt, but its cause, the sins of Israel.

How was it in the affair of the golden calf recorded in Exodus 32: 30? "Moses said unto the people, Ye have sinned a great sin: and now I will go up unto the Lord; peradventure I shall make atonement for your sin. And Moses returned unto the Lord and said, Oh, this people have sinned a great sin, and have made them gods of gold. Yet now, if thou wilt forgive their sin—; and if not, blot me, I pray thee, out of thy

book which thou hast written. And the Lord said unto Moses, whosoever hath sinned against me him will I blot out of my book." God did not accept the offering which Moses was willing to make of himself. Moses was not punished, the people were not punished, but on the contrary spared. No sacrifice was slain and yet this is expressly called an atonement. The essential elements were fidelity towards God, on the part of Moses; to God who requires supreme love and full self-surrender to Himself. Moses of all the people rendered loving obedience by his prostration before the Lord, self-abnegation, confession of the sin of the people, forty days' fast, and by his entreaty to be blotted out of the book of life, if his people could not be spared. It was what Moses *was* and what by his deeds he proved himself to be, that propitiated God and turned aside His wrath and indignation,—in other words pleased God so that He forgave the sin of the people. As Burney has truly said, the terms "satisfaction," "expiation," "piacular offering," "penal sacrifices," "vicarious obedience," "legal equivalents," "adequate compensation to justice, are not found in the Bible, and we may add, neither is the idea which they are intended to convey.

In the appointed atonements of the Old Testament there are three principal factors, namely, the offerer who voluntarily brings the offering for an atonement for his sins, the priest who by his own previous cleansing is fitted to meditate between God and the offerer by presenting the blood of the offering upon the altar, and the offering itself. In Christ the last two are combined; He is both the Lamb slain and the Priest who performs the office of meditator and presents the offering unto God. He offers Himself a sacrifice for the sins of all mankind that, as the everliving mediator, He may reveal and impart the life of God to man. No mere man could do this. "No man hath seen God at any time except the Son who came forth from the bosom of the father." He also reveals man to himself. The true nature and destiny of man come to light through the God-man. Man's greatest need and highest good are revealed in

Him. All that man needs to renew and sanctify his life, to put him in the way of God's commandments and equip him with wisdom and strength to walk uprightly is richly bestowed in the gift of the Son of God.

It is the Mediatorship of Christ that is emphasized. He is our MEDIATOR. It is not the dying, or the dead, but the living Christ who is the perennial source of life and light, wisdom and righteousness, sanctification and redemption. But in order that Christ might be such a fountain of life and salvation it was necessary for Him to enter into vital union with the race, to subject Himself to its infirmities and sufferings while He rendered free and perfect obedience to all the commands of God. "Lo, I come to do Thy will, O God," is the expression of His purpose. It is this voluntary and active obedience as a man that exposed Him to suffering and death; but by this suffering He was made perfect. The son of man must suffer and rise again. "It behooved Christ to suffer and rise again the third day," that He might through death and resurrection become a life-giving spirit. His sufferings were incidental and sympathetic, but necessary. Hence we are exhorted "to run with patience the race that is *set before us*, looking unto Jesus the author and perfecter of our faith, who for the *joy that was set before him* endured the cross, despising the shame, and hath sat down on the right hand of the throne of God." The highest merit that can accrue to any living rational being is that of perfect obedience to divine law. This is honorable, and indeed the more honorable if performed in the face of suffering and death. But this suffering is not that of punishment. Punishment attends the violation of law, and not obedience to it. To suffer punishment for the violation of law is neither joyous nor honorable, but on the contrary shameful. Christ could not render perfect obedience and at the time suffer the penalty of disobedience. The idea of active and passive obedience,—by which is meant that Christ obeyed preceptively while He submitted passively to penal suffering—is a false one.

What has now been said is in perfect accord with the idea of

sacrifice. A sacrifice is an offering. This is the use of the word in the Scriptures. Offerings are acts of worship, and acts of worship are voluntary or free, if presented in the right spirit, and are therefore well-pleasing to God. They may cost a great deal of self-denial and suffering on the part of the offerer, but are all the more precious and acceptable on that account. Jesus exercised self-denial and offered himself to God as a lamb without blemish and without spot. "And every priest indeed standeth day by day ministering and offering oftentimes the same sacrifices, the which can never take away sins; but he when he had offered one sacrifice for sins forever, sat down on the right hand of God." This voluntary offering of himself for the benefit of the human race was highly pleasing to God. The conception of a penal sacrifice is self-contradictory, and if penal offerings were possible they could not be pleasing to God. God does not delight in punishment; not even the punishment of the guilty.

A favorite argument for the penal theory is that the idea of sacrifice runs through the whole order of nature; that the lower is being continually sacrificed to the higher, the mineral to the vegetable, the vegetable to the animal, and all to the service of man. But here the word sacrifice, if the term be allowable at all, has a very different meaning, and its sense is in no wise applicable or analagous to that for which it stands in the sacred Scriptures. The different orders of plant and animal life have their mission in the elaboration of matter. This work goes on within the plant or animal itself. The vegetable elaborates from the mineral, the animal from the vegetable and mineral. Man does not elaborate matter; with him the process stops. Man elaborates spirit. The vegetable and animal fulfill their highest mission when they thus minister to the needs of man's physical life. But their consumption or destruction for this end lacks every element of sacrificial offering. The individual members of the lower orders are, by the authority and constitution of the natural world, destined to be overpowered and consumed by the members of the higher orders. There is

no offering, no suffering for, nor instead of, in their case. It is according to the legitimate order of things. The illustration, consequently, does not illustrate.

Christ could not enter the sphere of human life, as He did by taking man's nature into union with himself, without subjecting himself to human infirmities, temptations and sufferings. By enduring sufferings, resisting temptations and battling for the right He perfected Himself and became an all-sufficient Mediator. "Christ's was real though unfallen human nature; and Christ's human was in inseparable union with his divine nature. Jesus voluntarily took upon himself human nature with all its infirmities and weaknesses, but without the moral taint of the fall; without sin. It was human nature in itself capable of sinning, but not having sinned. The position of the first Adam was that of being capable of not sinning, not that of being capable of sinning. The first Adam would have been perfected, or passed from the capability of not sinning to the incapability of sinning, by obedience. That 'obedience,' or absolute submission to the will of God, was the grand outstanding characteristic of Christ's work, but it was so because He was not only the unsinning, unfallen man, but also the Son of God."* Mark well the difference. Man suffers penally; he carries about with him a *self-accusing* conscience from whose piercing stings he can no more escape than he can get away from himself, because his condition has its root in *disobedience*, hatred, rebellion—in a word, *supreme selfishness*. Christ suffers not penally, but sympathetically, because His motive is love, issuing in the purpose to save. He becomes man, and as a true son of man He perfects himself as man in order that He may impart His life to the race and so quicken and empower it to walk in obedience to God's law. And this in Him is pleasing to God. This is toward God an act of propitiation, and towards man an act of reconciliation; man is reconciled by pardon which annihilates sin and guilt. This is in perfect accord with the sacred Scriptures which say: "Ye are bought with a price."

* See Edersheim, "Jesus the Messiah," abridged edition, page 48.

The transfer of man's sin and guilt to Him—if this were possible—would make Him a lamb with stains and blemishes whose penal suffering would satisfy justice in such a way as at once to set free the whole race without further effort on the part of God or man. Christ would not even need to rise again, for the debt incurred by transgression would be paid by His death, and future violations anticipated and provided for by the surplus of merit earned through preceptive obedience.

But justification must be grounded in something more real than a legal fiction, such as imputing man's sin to Christ and laying upon Him the penalty, then turning about and imputing Christ obedience and righteousness to man. It has already been shown how utterly insufficient such a metathesis is to justify man before God. The case requires, not a dead, but a risen, life-giving Saviour. Paul recognizes this truth and embodies it in the challenge: "Who is he that condemneth? It is Christ that died, yea rather is risen again, who is even at the right hand of God, who also maketh intercession for us." This leaves room, too, for repentance and faith on the part of man. Indeed, this is the paramount condition upon which is based man's participation in Christ's righteousness and all the other fruits of His obedience unto death and victory. "But of Him are ye in Christ Jesus, who of God is made unto us wisdom and sanctification and redemption."

Here we reach the idea of *impartation*, which is something altogether different from the idea of imputation. It is Christ who regenerates and sanctifies. He covers in the sight of God man's sin,—or God pardon's sin through the indwelling and sanctifying life of His Son. Man assimilates himself to Christ by a faithful use of the wisdom and power of God at hand in Him. And this is what justifies, therefore, namely a living, active, fruit-producing faith in Christ. As Paul said, "I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me," he could still further declare, "This is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith." And thus man is saved

by grace and not by works ; works accomplished either by man himself, or a substitute who has done them in his stead. It is Christ, the great Mediator, who saves, and not his works.

But let us turn to another phase of the subject. Is it not said, "He hath borne our griefs and carried our sorrows—was wounded for our transgressions—bruised for our iniquities—the chastisement of our peace was upon Him, and with His stripes we are healed. The Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all?"* Is it not declared that He "bare our sins in his body on the tree?"† Yes, and a large number of passages of like import might be cited ; but it is never said that the Lord laid on Him the guilt of sin, or that He bare the punishment due to sin.

Dr. Hodge alleges that "to bear our sins means to bear the punishment of our sins." But what authority has Dr. Hodge to change the text so that it may give back his own thought or support his peculiar theory ? This is leading Scripture and not being led by it. It is begging the question by assuming the very thing to be proved.

Christ's obedience was His own; that is, He obeyed for Himself and in His own stead. His obedience was pleasing to God whose will He came to do, and all the more so because He persevered in the face of the persecution, suffering and death which it entailed upon Him. Through it all He was perfect and attained to glory and honor. He now, as the risen and glorified Christ, is imparted to the believer who, for himself, in the wisdom and strength of the Master moves forward in the same line of obedience.

How then did Christ bear our sins ? We answer, By taking them away, destroying, annihilating them. Matthew summarizes the passage in the fifty-third chapter and fourth verse of Isaiah in these words : "Himself took (ἐλάβεν) our infirmities and bare (ἐβόστασεν) our sicknesses."‡ How He did this we need hardly take the time to point out, for every one who reads the record of His doings is prepared to answer : "By healing the

* Isaiah liii.

† 2 Pet. ii. 24.

‡ Matth. viii. 17

sick and infirm and by casting out devils." He did not take the diseases, infirmities and demons into His own person; nor did He suffer the weakness, pain, inconvenience and torment which had racked the minds and bodies of those who were healed. He simply annihilated disease and drove out the demons: so He bore our sicknesses, and so He bare our sins. So He continues and will continue to bear our sins. He bears them away, takes them away, destroys them,—in other words, by repentance and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ His victorious life is imparted to us; we are regenerated, renewed, sanctified and so justified; our sins are forgiven, that is, we are pardoned, and our sins and our guilt go nowhere, are taken nowhere, they are simply destroyed, they cease to exist. As has already been pointed out, it was not the goat that was slaughtered and whose blood was sprinkled upon the altar that bore away sin, but the goat that escaped death, that suffered no punishment, and on the contrary lived.

It appears correct to consider this temple transaction in which the two goats figure so conspicuously as one offering in which the goat that furnishes the blood for the appointed atonement upon the altar symbolizes Christ's obedience unto death. "He is brought as a lamb to the slaughter, and, as a sheep before her shearers, is dumb, so he openeth not his mouth"—whereby He covers our sins by propitiating the favor of God, while the goat that escapes death and is left to go free, bearing away the sins of Israel, symbolizes the ever-living Christ, who through His resurrection conquered death and became the sin-bearer for the world. What could not be represented or symbolized in its completeness by one goat is done by two.

In the passage taken from the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah the Hebrew word translated bear is נָשָׂא (nasa). The same word is used in Exodus x. 16, where Pharaoh entreats Moses to intercede for him, and it is there translated *forgive*. "Now, therefore, forgive, I pray thee, my sin only this once." Moses, when making atonement for the sins of the people at Sinai, uses the same word in the prayer: "If thou wilt forgive their sin."

The same word is used of the scape goat when it is said : " And the goat shall bear upon him all their iniquities." The same word is used by Isaiah when he says of Christ : " He bare the sins of many," and, " He hath borne our griefs." But when he says of Christ : " He shall bear their iniquities," he uses the word סָבַל (*sabal*), the ordinary meaning of which is to bear or carry away. In the following passages נָשַׁן is used in the sense of pardon without punishment, namely, Gen. i. 17; Ex. x. 17; xxxii. 32; Num. xiv. 19; Josh. xxiv. 19; 1 Saml xxv. 28; Ps. xxv. 18; xxxii. 5; lxxxv. 2; xcix. 18; Isa. xi. 9.

The word ἀναφέρω, translated bear in the passages, " Who His own self bare our sins in His own body on the tree," and " Christ was once offered to bear the sins of many," can likewise be shown to mean that Christ in offering Himself a sacrifice for the salvation of the world bore our sins in the only way in which priests can bear sins, namely, by making propitiation for them, securing their actual pardon or destruction.

Christ's sufferings, then, are sympathetic, incidental, altogether voluntary, but necessary for the perfecting of Himself as the Son of Man. His whole life is a terrible conflict by which He maintains His integrity and conquers the devil, the root and strength of all evil. Because He is the perfect One the conflict is the more severe and the suffering intense. His bloody sweat in the garden, His agonizing cry on the cross—for He must win the victory for Himself and by Himself; He must tread the wine press alone; attest the greatness of His sufferings and reveal to us the fearful character of evil which turns men into demons who jeer and rail at the good.

Dr. Hodge concedes the irrationality of his theory when he says : " It may not be agreeable to our feelings, nor in accord with our views of right that the sin of one should be laid upon another, and that other punished." We think there is nothing more repulsive to reason, and we do not believe that it can be demonstrated that God made one subjective law, which is ingrained in the mind and inscribed upon the heart of man for

the regulation of his life, and another objective law whose consistency can be known and appreciated by Himself alone; two laws which are not only not in accord, but run in diametrically opposite directions. If this is so, then we have no standard of right, for what is right with God is not right with man. Has God given to man one standard of right and reserved to Himself another and wholly different one? Has He implanted in man a sense of right which He Himself may infringe upon and shock at pleasure? If so, then J. Stuart Mill is certainly right when he suggests the possibility of there being other worlds with whose inhabitants two and two make five instead of four as the laws of human reason demand.

V.

THE EGYPTIAN MONUMENTS.

BY H. P. LAIRD.

CAN these hoary-headed monuments be unveiled? If we follow in the line of our predecessors, this is impossible. The historian Rollin, moved by compassion, with unaffected sincerity laments the slavery of the workmen who erected the Pyramids, and denounces with severity the cruelty of the rulers who insisted on the erection of such huge monuments merely to serve as memorials of their pride and vanity.

Prof. Lepsius visited Egypt in 1843, and having discovered in the Pyramid attributed to Mycerinus a large vault in which was found a sarcophagus, adopted the conclusion that the pyramids were erected for tombs for the Egyptian rulers. The views of Rollin and Lepsius although clearly absurd, have been in great measure accepted by the world at large. It appears not to have occurred to Prof. Lepsius that entombment in this or any other of the pyramids was a mere *incident*, such as the interment of the remains of the great admiral, Christopher Columbus, in San Domingo, in the cathedral of the Havana. Herodotus, Vol. II, page 217, says, "This tomb (that of Apries, the Pharaoh-Hophra of Jeremiah, ch. 44, v. 30) is in the temple of Minerva very near the sanctuary, on the left hand as one enters. The Saites (Sais was an Egyptian city on the Rozetta branch of the Nile) buried all the kings who belonged to their canton inside this temple; and thus it even contains the tomb of Amasis, as well as that of Apries and his family. The latter is not so close to the sanctuary as the former, but still is within the temple."

The body of Sir Reginald Bray, the architect of St. George's Chapel, at Windsor, by permission of the king, was interred in the chapel. The high altar in St. John's Cathedral in Turin, in the department of Piedmont, is only separated by a glass screen from a chapel in the rear ; the burial place of kings. The body of Constantine the Great was entombed in the "Church of the Apostles" erected by him in Constantinople, and after him this church called the *Heroon*, became the royal burial place. The remains of Godfrey of Bouillon are entombed in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, near Moscow in Russia. It would be irrational to infer that the temple and churches named were erected for burial places. The *Denkmaeler* of Prof. Lepsius on the Egyptian monuments was published soon after his return to Germany, and being in consonance with previous popular belief, helped to enslave scientific thought which was struggling after a rational solution of these wonderful monuments. Cultivated human nature is in all ages much the same, and to attribute such groveling purposes to the great men who fashioned the pyramids on strictly mathematical principles is most unphilosophical. The Egyptian monuments are a standing refutation of the prevalent notion that savage life precedes the arts, and civilization. While all the inferior animals from earliest existence are endowed with capacities suitable to their various modes of life, it would be illogical to infer that the chief animal, man, did not from the very beginning of his existence, have the capacities and endowments which distinguish him from the lower orders of animated nature. Who believes that it took the bee untold ages to learn how to construct its comb along mathematical lines, or the oriole how to accommodate the length of its nest to the prevalent force of wind storms in particular localities? In Egypt we meet not with man, but with his works before he had fallen from innocent civilized life to barbarous and savage life, and then dwell with complacency on the idea of long periods of existence on this planet which he must have passed through before he had the capacity to construct mathematical and astronomical monuments.

Convolution may have had its place in the construction of worlds, and development, in the formation of vegetable and animal life; but these stages were formative, embryonic and incomplete. The last touches of this process made each thing and being complete in all its capacities and appointments, each after his kind. In contemplating these monuments, the writer is not embarrassed with the popular notion that the earliest races of men were destitute of constructive and mechanical ability, or that they lacked the religious instinct which apprehends the spiritual presence of God in all his works.

The hypothesis which is invoked to explain the pyramids, must have a rational foundation commensurate with the purpose which moved an intellectual race of men to bestow so much labor, skill and divine simplicity in their structure.

The importance of the question involved in such a hypothesis cannot be over-estimated; for if found to rest on a solid basis, a mystery, which for ages has baffled human scrutiny, will be solved.

Modern philological research has established the fact that Hebrew and Ancient Egyptian are cognate languages. Sir Reginald S. Pool, in Vol. XI., page 807, Ency. Brit., speaks of "the undoubted identity of the personal pronouns in Egyptian and Semitic." Same author, Vol. VII., page 721, says, "There can be no doubt that it (Egyptian) is related to the Semitic family; . . . the grammatical structure is distinctly Semitic and many roots are common to the Semitic language." A knowledge of this fact will be valuable in the further investigation of the subject of this article. The great pyramid of the Memphitic group was both an observatory and a religious sanctuary. Its base covered an area of about thirteen acres, and its height originally was about 480 feet. It rises from the base at an angle of $51^{\circ} 51' 14''$. It is erected on a living rock, which forms a part of its base, on the western side of the Nile, on the line of thirty degrees of north latitude; has four faces of equal area, directed to the north, to the south, and to the east and west. It is throughout constructed of huge stones, lime-stone

and granite; many of them thirty feet long and proportionally thick and broad; was originally covered on the outside from top to bottom with smooth limestone slabs, and around the foundation there was originally a pavement of granite slabs, and a paved way from thence to the huge figure cut in the living rock, which the Greeks named Sphinx, that is, bound, but the Egyptian name was Hû, which corresponds with the Semitic personal pronoun of the third person.

𐀓𐀓 (He.) Also involving the idea of the substantive verb,—He who is. On the north side of this pyramid near to the centre there is a tubular opening beginning at a point 49 feet from the base, and descending due south at an angle of $26^{\circ} 41'$, leveled at a point which was at one period the vanishing point of the earth's axis in the north. This tubular opening is three feet eleven inches by three feet five inches, and was smoothly chisel-dressed after the stones were in place throughout the whole length and breadth. At the end of sixty-three feet there is an ascending fork of this tubular opening running due south for the distance of one hundred and ten feet, of the same dimensions as that of the main tubular opening and rising at an angle of $26^{\circ} 41'$. After passing for the distance of sixty-three feet the main tubular opening continues on down below the base of the pyramid and living rock for the distance of one hundred feet, into an unfinished bowl-shaped spacious cavern. The ascending opening at the distance of one hundred and ten feet from where it begins conducts to a finished opening called the grand gallery, twenty-eight feet high, one hundred and fifty-six feet and ten inches long and six feet and nine inches wide. The floor line of this gallery is a continuous ascent with the entrance passage which leads to it. At the end of this floor line there is again a narrow passage leading into a narrow ante-room over which a heavy granite block hangs from grooves in the side walls, and from this ante-room there is a low entrance into the largest chamber in the edifice, which is an oblong parallelogram, thirty-four feet and four inches long and seventeen feet and two inches wide, and nineteen feet and

two inches high, ventilated by two tubes running from it to the outer surface. The finish of this room is chiseled work from top to bottom, ceiling and floor. The only article of furniture in the room is a granite laver. The laver is an oblong rectangular trough; its internal space would hold eight bushels of wheat, or sixty-four gallons of water. A horizontal passage starts on a level with the grand gallery at the point where it is entered, running south, which leads to a chamber. The floor of this room is seventeen feet and one inch by seventeen feet and two inches. It has a pointed arch ceiling and is exquisitely finished. There is a niche in the east wall, two feet and one inch across the top and two feet one inch south of the vertical centre of the wall into which it is cut.

Just at the beginning of the ascent of the grand gallery, there is a moderate opening running down irregularly and connecting with the bowl-shaped well which is sunk one hundred feet below the level of the base of the pyramid. Any water thrown out of the laver in the large chamber, after being used, would run down along the declivity to the opening and find its way by this opening into the bowl-shaped well beneath.

Herodotus, second book, chapter 127, in speaking of the second pyramid, or pyramid of Cephren, says: "It has no subterraneous apartments nor any canal from the Nile to supply it with water *as the other pyramid has.*" (Pyramid of Cheops.) It ought to be obvious to the most stupid that this irregular opening at the foot of a long ascent, connecting with a large chamber in which was found the laver, was intended for a discharge of water used in connection with the laver. In Rawlinson's Herodotus, volume second, page 52, Herodotus says, "They (the Egyptians) are religious to excess far beyond any other race of men. . . . Their (the priests') dress is entirely of linen, and their shoes of the papyrus; . . . they bathe twice every day in cold water and twice each night; . . . instead of a single priest each god has the attendance of a college, at the head of which is a chief-priest."

Any rain water which would fall into the external mouth of

the tubular opening on the north would also pass down the descending opening and escape into the bowl-shaped well beneath.

There are three pyramids to the east of the great pyramid, three to the west and three south of the third western pyramid, and one very small pyramid five miles north of the great pyramid. This is the only pyramid of which the distance from the great pyramid and certainty of direction is given by any observer whose narrative I have been able to obtain. These pyramids constitute the northern Memphitic group, and are all of one style of architecture and as distinctly indicate that they belong to one and the same age, as the style of architecture which prevailed in the days of Queen Elizabeth mark the age in which she lived. Six of these nine pyramids have similar tubular openings facing to the north and at almost the same angle. The great pyramid alone has the two rooms described, in one of which is the laver. All these six pyramids have the deep subterranean bowl-shaped well to carry off any water which might fall into their mouths on the north. The pyramid attributed to Mycerinus has a tomb-shaped cell very artistically finished, in which was found a sarcophagus, which contained a mummy, but not certainly that of Mycerinus. The huge man-headed lion-bodied figure east of the first pyramid, but west of the great pyramid cut into the living rock in a reclining posture, one hundred and forty-six feet in length, with corresponding bodily proportions, named by the Egyptians Hû,—He who is,—may be regarded as a symbolical representation of the power and greatness of the self-existent Being whom they all worshiped. In front of this figure there has recently been discovered a tablet and an altar of stone finely finished, which had been for ages covered with dust and sand. Within less than a score of miles from Memphis once stood Beth-Shemosh, On, the city of the Sun. There was a celebrated school of learning, patronized by the most distinguished Greek scholars and scientists, among whom may be mentioned Thales, the astronomer, Solon, the Athenian lawgiver, Pythagoras, the philosopher, Plato,

Eudoxus, the mathematician and astronomer. In B. C. 450, Herodotus, the historian, visited Egypt, to whom we are indebted for much interesting information. St. Luke, Acts 7 and 22, says that "Moses was instructed in all the wisdom of the Egyptians." Sir Gardiner Wilkinson says, "The name of pyramid in Egyptian appears to be *br-br*." The Egyptian written language, like the Hebrew, omitted the vowels, and the repetition of an abstract noun as in Hebrew added to its intensity and supplied the place of the superlative degree, as *tsedeq tsedeq*, perfect justice. The inscription on the pyramids, when the vowel is supplied, would be *bar-bar*. This is also a Hebrew word signifying "pure," or holy, and the repetition of the word would indicate the superlative degree, most pure, or most holy. The *br-br* observed was therefore probably not the name, but a quality of the structure. Absurd derivations of the word pyramid have been given. It is probably a compound of the Greek word *pur*, a flame, and a Hebrew and Egyptian word, *ammud*, pillar,—*pur-ammud*, a flame pillar, from its fancied resemblance to the form of a pillar of fire. In the 10th edition of "Outlines of Astronomy," by Sir John Herschel, marginal page 318, the author says: "The visible effect of precession on the aspect of the heavens consists in the *apparent* approach of some stars and constellations to the pole, and recess of others. The bright star of the Lesser Bear, which we call the pole star, has not always been, nor will always continue to be, our cynosure." Page 319, "At the date of the erection of the Great Pyramid of Gizeh, which precedes by 3970 years (say 4,000) the present epoch, the longitudes of all the stars were less by $55^{\circ} 45'$ than at present. Calculating from this datum, the place of the pole of the heavens among the stars, it will be found to fall near *A Draconis*; its distance from that star being $3^{\circ} 44' 25''$. This being the most conspicuous star in the immediate neighborhood was therefore the pole star at that epoch. And the latitude of Gizeh being just 30° north and consequently the latitude of the north pole there also 30° , it follows that the star in question must have had its lower cul-

mination, at Gizeh, an altitude of $26^{\circ} 15' 35''$. Now it is a remarkable fact, ascertained by the late researches of Col. Vyse, that of the nine pyramids still existing at Gizeh, six (including all the largest) have the narrow passage by which alone they can be entered; . . . are inclined to the horizon downwards at angles as follows :

First, or Pyramid of Cheops	$26^{\circ} 41'$
Second " Cephren	$25^{\circ} 55'$
Third, " Mycerinus	$26^{\circ} 2'$
Fourth, "	$27^{\circ} 0'$
Fifth, "	$27^{\circ} 12'$
Sixth, "	$28^{\circ} 0'$
Mean	$26^{\circ} 47'$


The author further observes, " At the bottom of every one of these passages, therefore, the *then* pole star must have been visible at its lower culmination, a circumstance which can hardly be supposed to have been unintentional."

This inference is legitimate ; but there are also other inferences arising out of the facts, all tending to establish one and the same hypothesis. We do not need to be told that the great men who erected the pyramids were mathematicians and astronomers ; their works which still survive prove this. The picture of the men at work inscribed on the pyramids drawing the huge stones is one of enthusiasm. Every countenance is young, bright and healthy in appearance. The dress is uniform like soldiers equipped for the march, and the multitude in line is so great that the largest stones might have been moved with celerity and ease. The work of building the pyramid was one of science and of religion. The immortality of the soul and a future life were much more directly emphasized by the Egyptians than in the Hebrew Scriptures. Priests, rulers and people all joined with zeal in the erection of the pyramids. The government furnished the food of the workmen, and the young men of the country alternately volunteered to carry on the work. The

stars were immortal, the work of the divine architect Phtah, and each pyramid represented one of His stars and were earth contrived monuments to His divinity. The great pyramid was both a sanctuary and an observatory. The water of the Nile was carried up to the large apartment where the High Priest performed his ceremonial ablutions, and being cast out descended along the grand gallery and through the irregular opening at the beginning of the gallery, ran down into the deep well beneath. The tubular opening on the north, directed to the vanishing point of the earth's axis, served as an observatory to trace in the day time the *apparent course* of the circumpolar stars. It was necessary to observe the course of these stars during the entire revolution of the earth, and the tubular opening afforded the means of doing so by day. They must have found the *then* polaris very close to the actual pole of the earth's axis; for the second pyramid, which it may be assumed was intended to represent the *then* polaris, is almost crowded on to the sanctuary and observatory first built. All the stars represented by the pyramids in the Memphitic group were *within the field* of view of this rock-built telescope, and each was sacred to some star whose course had been observed and traced, or to the *apparent* different positions of polaris at different periods of the year, brought about by the revolution of the earth. Our astronomers plot the stars, their positions enormously distorted, on a piece of paper. The Egyptian astronomers, with more wisdom, plotted a sufficient number of the circumpolar stars on the ground, to fix the *then* location of the northern axis of the earth, and marked the spot on which it was plotted by a pyramid, a tribute of worship to Phtah, the Supreme Artificer.

The small pyramid five miles north of the Great Pyramid, low down in the horizon, is quite significant. It represents a small star beneath the *then* pole of the axis of the earth; and the north polar axis of the earth will not occupy the same relative position to this star until 25,868 years have elapsed from the building of the great pyramid. The dumb mouths of these

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hoary-headed monuments, every feature of which was tested by mathematical science, prove them to be copied after the workmanship of the Supreme Architect. They have no conceivable relation, when viewed in all their circumstances, to anything terrestrial; but six of this group, with rock-formed telescopes pointing to the vanishing point of the heavens, toward which the axis of the earth *then* pointed, according to independent sources of astronomical calculations, lead to the conviction that they were intended to be enduring monuments of the position and phenomena of certain of the circumpolar stars; and such high purpose is corroborated by the fame of Egyptian learning which attracted the attention of the most famous Greek scholars. In the presence of such facts we can afford to discount the jarring fables narrated by Greek historians. Our later Egyptologists have so failed to bring order out of confusion that they have been characterized as *Gott-verlassen*.

There is not sufficient evidence that the early pyramid builders were idolaters. At a later age, say with the beginning of the ninth dynasty, all Egypt was contaminated with a gross form of religious conceptions which divided the homage due the Eternal with bulls and crocodiles. From the sea to Thebes by the course of the Nile, is 566 miles, and from Heliopolis, the ancient Egyptian On, to Thebes, the capital of Upper Egypt, is about 421 miles. The city of On stood at the head of the Delta, so that the distance of Heliopolis or On from the sea would be 145 miles. Upper Egypt, of which Thebes was the capital, became conspicuous long after the foundation of Memphis. There were in the Feiyoom in the department of Upper Egypt two remarkable monuments. The artificial lake, constructed by King Moeris was to mitigate the annual overflow of the Nile, and as a reservoir to distribute its waters for irrigation when the waters of the Nile subsided.

A short distance above this lake, and subsequent to the construction of the lake, there was erected a monument of vast proportions named the Labyrinth, one of the wonders of the world. I will let Herodotus, an eye-witness, describe it. "I

visited this place and found it, to surpass description. It has twelve courts, all of them roofed; with gates exactly opposite to one another, six looking to the north and six to the south. A single wall surrounds the entire building. There are two different sorts of chambers throughout, half under ground, half above ground, the latter built upon the former. The whole number of these chambers is three thousand, fifteen hundred of each kind. The upper chambers I myself passed through and saw, and found them to excel all other human productions; for the passages through the houses, and the various windings of the paths across the courts excited in me infinite admiration as I passed from the courts into the chambers, and from the chambers into colonnades, and from the colonnades into fresh houses, and again from these into courts unseen before. The roof was throughout of stone, like the walls; and the walls were covered all over with figures; every court was surrounded with a colonnade, which was built of white stones exquisitely fitted together. At the corner of the Labyrinth stands a pyramid forty fathoms high, with large figures engraved on it, which is entered by a subterranean passage." The structure which Herodotus calls a pyramid was rather a pillar, *ammud*. It was built of sun-dried brick, was four hundred feet square at the base and three hundred feet in height. The Labyrinth was six hundred and six feet and nine inches long. This pillar had no side opening, and was evidently an observatory, from the flat top of which celestial observations were made. In the temple of Dendera, twenty-eight miles north of Thebes, there is a quadrangular zodiac. The foundation story of the Labyrinth, Herodotus was informed, was for a burial place of the kings and sacred crocodiles. It is remarkable that he made no inquiry touching the purpose of the upper story, with its fifteen hundred curiously laid-off rooms.

Sir Reginald S. Pool says: "With Dynasty XII the Theban line was firmly established over all Egypt," and named Amenemhat as the first king of this dynasty, and as his successors in order Usartesen, Amenemhat the II and Usartesen the II, Usar-

tesan the III, and then Amenemhat the III, and attributes to him the building of the famous Labyrinth ; informs us that Prof. Lepsius discovered the remains of the Labyrinth, and dismisses the subject by saying: "The use of the Labyrinth is unknown."

Herodotus gives a different account of the kings concerned in the erection of the structure, which will be discussed further on. The lights are dim, but there is a reasonable probability that it was a stellaspheer, in which instead of plotting the planets and stars within the ecliptic, the different constellations were walled around, forming rooms with openings into the passages ; and that these passages represented the course of the sun among the constellations in its annual movement from north to south within the ecliptic. The flat-topped pillar, in an unclouded atmosphere like Egypt, where it seldom rains, would afford the astronomer an admirable opportunity to delineate the space which intervened between particular clusters of stars and to lay down the apparent movements of the sun in its annual declination north and south from the equinoctial.

The twelve courts which were entered by twelve doors opposite each other, and fronting north and south, probably indicate the palaces of the twelve local gods of the second order often mentioned in later Egyptian mythology, each ruling over a distinct part of Egypt. The Labyrinth was undoubtedly associated with both religious and astronomical ideas. It was erected at a period when the speculations of the priests had corrupted the simplicity of the ancient monotheistic worship. One aspect of the later phase of Egyptian theology seems to have been a deification of the attributes of the one supreme divinity.

The earlier pyramid builders sought to represent a certain number of the circumpolar stars, as they found them to be, by enduring stone monuments. The later astronomers, abandoning the divine simplicity of their predecessors, sought to fix the course of the sun in the heavens and the position of certain leading constellations visible from a single point in the horizon, by the most refined and elaborate architectural structure the

world has ever seen and of material not less durable than the first pyramids. The want of esthetic taste, or the lack of interest in astronomy, has permitted this wonder of the world to fall into ruins without any adequate effort to discover the high purpose which dictated its erection.

According to the statement of Herodotus, the Labyrinth was the work of twelve contemporary kings of Egypt; but in this connection he named Psammeticus, when the evidence of the monuments shows that this structure was erected several hundred years before the birth of Psammeticus. If the *dynasty* of twelve contemporary sovereigns continued for several hundred years, and if Psammeticus was one of the twelve during the last year of a joint *dynasty* of twelve kings, the statement of Herodotus might be reconciled with the position of Sir Reginald S. Pool, who doubtless adopted the views of Prof. Lepsius, that Amenemhat the III was the builder of the Labyrinth, or one of the builders. Lamoris, or Labaris, it is said, was the predecessor of Amenemhat, and to him Manetho attributes the building of the Labyrinth. Diodorus calls the founder of the Labyrinth Mendes, and Pliny attributes it to King Petesucus, and Gardiner Wilkinson says that the names of more than one king were found in the Labyrinth. These scattered rays give an air of truth to the statement of Herodotus who attributes the building of the Labyrinth to twelve contemporary kings. If we accept the hypothesis that there were two kings named Psammeticus, or that the Psammeticus Herodotus appears to refer to was not a contemporary of the first twelve, but only a contemporary of the last twelve who reigned jointly, there may be some hope of reconciling these apparent inconsistencies. We learn from a note of Gardiner Wilkinson, Herodotus, Vol, II, page 819, "that the hieroglyphic name of Psammeticus hitherto considered of the first was really the second of that name. If there was an earlier king of the name Psammeticus, he might have been a confederate of the college of twelve kings who erected the Labyrinth." The want of an epoch to fix dates is sadly felt in any attempt to construct an Egyptian

chronology. If we had a photograph of the Memphitic group of pyramids taken from some elevated point in which the exact relative position of the whole group would be shown, and measurements of their exact size and positions relative to each other, and relative to the four quarters of the heavens, such data would enable an astronomer to verify or disprove the hypothesis advanced in relation to the pyramids of Gizeh, and if the hypothesis were found to be correct, to fix the epoch when the great pyramid was constructed. It is not claimed that anything here said amounts to a demonstration. No fact, however, has been discovered in conflict with the hypothesis. Such negative proof is deemed of great value in a search after truth. In recondite questions the *weight of probability*, like the weight of evidence in legal contentions, claims our assent. Pythagoras, it is said, learned from the Egyptians the system of the world now generally held, and that he communicated this knowledge in private to his disciples, but forebore to teach it in public. We smile at the superstition which restrained a pagan philosopher from avowing any fact touching the constitution of the world; and yet, we must remember that paganism had an unwritten volume of religious beliefs, partly cosmical, which no man could controvert with impunity.

VI.

AUTUMN.

BY PROF. SAMUEL VERNON RUBY.

The pretty robe that Autumn wears
Along the laughing rill,
The pretty robe that Autumn wears
Upon the sombre hill,
Will be a picture sweet to see,
As long as there is memory.

How bright the dew is on the thorn!
How red the leaves beneath!
How rosy is the coming morn
Upon the blushing heath!
How like a scene upon the sky,
Are yonder clouds, now floating by!

How soft the noon—and afternoon,
Of each and every day,
When children crave the simple boon
Of walking o'er the way,
"Or down the glen, or by the church,
Until they reach the fiery birch."

The grass is brown beneath the tree,
And brown around the bush;
No more is heard the Summer bee,
Or Summer singing thrush;
Yet all the vale is green or gold,
Or scarlet touched, or crimson stoled.

I stand anear the river's flood,
The village lies behind,—
Behind the wood, with leaf and bud,
As still as if 't were blind,
Or waited for some gentle breeze,
To stir, anon, its topmost trees.

The water tinkles at my feet,
It rises to a swell,
It passes even swift and fleet—
I hear the evening bell,
As o'er the wood there comes its chime,
A full and tender, mellow rhyme.

I turn now back unto those years
That did so gently glide;
I turn now back unto those years,
That with their silver tide,
Did pass in song, in love, in praise,
And think them like these Autumn days.

Oh, yes! I love thee, Autumn brown!
And when the wind is free,
I think I hear thy trailing gown
In every forest tree;
And painting, painting gold and green,
Thou paint'st, indeed, the sweetest scene.

not cant, not sham. "That to the age as it is the Church is not real," he says, "is the most serious objection." And the objection holds not only to holy water and holy vestments, but equally as much to the hollowness of a great deal of moral pretension and to the unreality of doctrinal confessions to which there no longer corresponds any real faith. But there are tendencies in the Church and in the age which promise a new and brighter day. To believe that Christianity is not adequate to the moral and religious requirements of the age, would be to abandon faith in its divinity. But there may be needed a great deal of earnest conflict before the better tendencies now existing in the Church shall come generally to prevail.

Of the Roman Catholic Church, especially as existing here in America, the author, however, has no hope in the view here under consideration. She is committed to ultramontanism, and is ultramontane at heart in spite of all the professions of her prelates to the contrary. She can not reform herself from within herself; for her dogma of infallibility binds her forever to the existing state of things, however discordant this state of things may be with the spirit and demands of the age. This, we would remark, by the way, seems to be logical; but history does not always proceed logically, and is not always careful of consistency. May it not be that after all the Christian life which is still present in the Catholic Church shall some day assert itself, and, without any concern for consistency, break the fetters of the past and put on a new and more glorious form? Individuals may make fools of themselves by sacrificing themselves to consistency;—having said a thing once, whether right or wrong, they may always stand by it because they have said it. Adherence to creed-subscription is sometimes advocated on this principle. But great masses and many generations of men will not always act on this principle. And to our mind it is at least doubtful whether the membership of the Roman Catholic Church will always do so. It would be a dismal thought that this great Church has been preserved by Providence during so many centuries without having Christian life enough in it to make it of some account for the future interests of Christianity. We, however, believe, too, that the Roman hierarchy, which, in whatever land it may be found, is always *Roman* and *ultramontane*, must be overthrown before much good can come out of Rome.

But Protestantism, too, according to Dr. Stuckenberg, needs to undergo a new reformation before it can fully meet the demands of the age. Originally Protestantism was a life; now it has become a dogmatic system, or a congeries of such systems, from which the life has in large measure departed. In this respect the Protestantism of to-day has become largely assimilated again to Roman Catholicism; with this difference that Roman Catholicism is more tolerant of differences of theological opinion than many forms of Protes-

tantism are. But in this respect Protestantism has become untrue to itself, and is at war with its original genius. That genius consists in freedom and progress. "Not in what it forever settled is the glory of the Reformation," says Dr. Stuckenberg, "but in that it showed clearly what was to be settled, and how it ought to be settled." And again: "Protestantism is a constant asking, seeking, and knocking; as soon as it rests in a victory as final, and ceases with Paul to press forward, it leaves the Pauline basis with which it started." Of course Protestantism has largely fallen into this sort of inconsistency. The Lutheran Church, and by the way Dr. Stuckenberg is a Lutheran, has gradually come to accept Luther's doctrines as a finality. "Gottes Word und Luther's Lehr, Die vergehen nimmerwehr," the Lutherans have been singing. We can easily understand that Dr. Stuckenberg, who protests so vigorously against this conceit, should be no favorite among his Lutheran brethren, as we are told he is not. But the same condition is found to prevail to a large extent in the Reformed churches. Has not the Presbyterian Church boldly declared, through some of her leading representatives, that in her controversy about the Bible, the question is not what is the truth, but what is the teaching of the Presbyterian standards? Can we wonder, then, that the culture of the age is so largely opposed to the Church, and that earnest, honest thinkers and seekers after truth stand aloof from her?

One of the strongest chapters of the book under notice is that on the "Church and Socialism." Persons who can not understand that there is a social problem, can here find food for reflection. Socialistic views—views which look to the reorganization of society on a basis different from that on which society is now built—are making marvelously rapid progress both in Europe and in the United States. What is the cause of this astonishing phenomenon? Some think that there is no valid cause for it. They hold that this "united effort on the part of the laboring classes, or masses, to rise into a better condition, is wholly unjustified, because their condition is now better than it was ever before. That the condition of the laboring classes is now better than it has been in the past, just as that of the rich is better, is a fact which Dr. Stuckenberg does not deny—a fact which can not be denied. What cause, then, is there for the restlessness of the masses, which is becoming so ominously threatening? Dr. Stuckenberg's answer is that this cause is not in an absolute change for the worse in the laboring man's outward condition, but in a change for the better in the laboring men themselves. "The great change in the burden-bearers has made their burdens seem intolerable." And this change consists in the awakening of the feeling of personality and of the sense of its worth. Men have been taught—and it is the teaching of Christianity itself—that they are persons and not things, and they will, therefore, no longer consent to be treated as things. The laboring masses were treated

worse in the past than they are treated now; but they believed that they were made for that, and endured it without much murmuring. But now they are taught that all men are created equal, with equal rights to the pursuit of life, liberty, and happiness; and they insist that these rights shall be realized. The result is a struggle that will not cease until the *manhood of men* is recognized, and society so reconstructed as to afford an *equal chance* to all.

But we must stop. We have given enough of the spirit of this book, though mostly in our own language, to enable the reader to form an idea of what it is like. Without professing agreement with everything that is contained in it, we nevertheless commend it as a book calculated at least to make one think, even if not to make one wise. We believe, however, that it contains much wisdom which both the age and the Church will do well to appropriate. W. R.

THE BOOKS OF CHRONICLES. By W. H. Bennett, M. A., Professor of Old Testament Languages and Literature, Hackney and New Colleges; sometimes Fellow of St. John's College Cambridge. New York; A. C. Armstrong & Son, 51 East Tenth Street. 1894. Price \$1.50.

This is one of the latest issues of the series edited by the Rev. W. Robertson Nicoll, M.A., LL. D., and known as the "Expositor's Bible." It is a work of very superior merit, and will be found by the general reader a valuable help to the proper understanding of that portion of Scripture of which it is an exposition. Its contents are distributed into four books. Of these the First Book is introductory and discusses the date and authorship, the historical setting, the source and mode of composition, and the importance of Chronicles. In the Second Book the genealogies are considered, and names, heredity, statistics, family traditions and kindred subjects are treated of. Book Third is devoted to the exposition of the Messianic and other types of the Chronicles, and Book Fourth contains a commentary on the history from 2 Chronicles x. to the end. Throughout the treatment is masterly as well as scholarly. In the *Expositor* for September, 1894, Prof. Marcus Dods says of this volume: "Prof. Bennett's book is probably the best specimen we have of the application of the higher criticism, and it will go far to justify its methods to the popular mind. No reader can peruse what Prof. Bennett has written without perceiving how much is gained for edification and reverence for the Bible by accepting the results of a sound criticism. All who wish to understand the Bible should read this volume; they will find it not only an instructive and edifying, but a delightful employment."

THE SECOND EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS. By James Denny, B. D. New York; A. C. Armstrong & Son, 51 East Tenth Street. 1894. Price \$1.50.

This volume also belongs to the series known as "The Expositor's Bible," and completes the series so far as the New Testament is con-

cerned. It is a work of decided merit, and deserves its place in the series. In the introduction to his Exposition the author maintains that the letter to which St. Paul refers in 2 Corinthians 2 : 4 and 7 : 8, 12, is our First Epistle to the Corinthians, and not some lost Epistle, as is sometimes claimed. The Exposition itself is clear and helpful. We heartily commend the volume to the attention of all our readers. Both ministers and laymen will find it well worth possessing.

CHRISTIANITY AND THE CHRIST. A Study of Christian Evidences. By Bradford Paul Raymond, D. D., President of the Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn. New York: Hunt & Eaton, Cincinnati; Cranston & Curtis. 1894. Price, 85 cents.

The whole subject of this book is made to revolve around Christ, and its purpose is to show that the Christian faith is truly reasonable. The work is divided into twelve chapters which treat respectively of Christ and the Christian Life, Christ and the Revised Version, Christ and the Prophets, Christ and the Supernatural, Christ's Self-Consciousness, Christ and the Resurrection, Christ and the Apostle Paul, Christ and the Sinner, Christ and the Deliverer, Christ and History, Christ and Humanity, and Christ and Immortality. All these subjects are discussed with ability and in a clear and simple manner. In the treatment of them, moreover, it is very plainly shown that the Christian faith is reasonable, and the only reasonable faith. The work is one, therefore, that deserves a wide circulation. It would be well, indeed, if it could find a place in every family throughout our country.

THE FIRST WORDS FROM GOD. Or Truths Made Known in the First Two Chapters of His Word. Also the Harmonizing of the Records of the Resurrection Morning. By Francis W. Upham, LL. D., Author of "The Church and Science," "The Wise Men," "The Star of Our Lord," "Thoughts on the Gospels," and "St. Matthew's Witness." New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curtis. 1894. Price, 85 cents.

It is highly important that we should have correct views concerning the Creation of the World and the Resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ. If we go wrong as regards these, we shall be likely to go wrong on all points relating to our holy religion. Very true, and more timely than when first written, are the words of Tayler Lewis: "Creation gone, its place in Scripture left a blank, or what is worse a lying myth, who will give credence to the account of the Flood, or regard the succeeding events in any other than their loosest legendary aspects? The Patriarchs become dim mythological shadows, the God of the Patriarchs a *patrial* Deity, to rank hereafter with Baal or Thor or Jupiter. Sinai can never wholly lose its grandeur; but it is the grandeur of a gloomy and terrible myth. Moses vanishes through the Ivory Gate, and Prophets follow him to the land of lying dreams. And so of Him of Whom Moses and

the Prophets wrote. The historical Jesus departs with the rest of the long ghostly procession. All is gone but the babble of the ideal Christ, and how long would that poor shadow linger in the rapidly deepening twilight that must follow the real setting Sun!"

With equal truth it may also be said that if we give up the resurrection of Jesus we give up all certain proof of our immortality. "If Christ be not raised" says St. Paul, "then they also which are fallen asleep in Christ have perished."

Now the volume before us treats of these two very important subjects in a very able and interesting manner. Though we are not prepared on all points to agree with Dr. Upham, yet we can heartily commend his little volume to all our readers. A careful study of it cannot fail to be profitable and to inspire faith in the teachings of the Sacred Scriptures, which is a matter of no little importance just now when so much is doing to undermine their authority.

THE NATURE OF THE STATE. By Dr. Paul Carus. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company. 1894. Price, 15 cents.

Dr. Paul Carus, the author of this booklet, is editor of the *Monist*, a Quarterly Magazine of Philosophy, Religion, Science and Sociology, published by the Open Court Publishing Company. He is a scholar and a thinker. With his religious views we are not in sympathy; but his writings we find nevertheless a profitable study. The treatise whose title is given forms part of the "Religion of Science Library." The subjects discussed in it are the following: Does the State Exist? Was the Individual Prior to Society? The State a Product of Natural Growth, The Modern State, The Authority of the State and the Right of Revolution, The Modern State Based upon Revolution, and Treason and Reform. All these subjects are treated briefly, but yet in a very able and suggestive manner, "If the State is to be based exclusively upon the principle of individualism," he claims, "the State will break down; but if the State is recognized as an embodiment of the moral-world order, it will adopt the principle of individualism as a fundamental maxim, for without liberty no morality." "The State" he also claims, "is a moral institution, and it is therefore our duty, according to the precedent of Christ, one of the first and greatest representatives of the revolutionary spirit on Earth, to drive out of its halls those who barter there for private gains." Furthermore he maintains, "It is very difficult to draw any well-defined line between treason and reform, especially when it is remembered that every reform appears necessarily as treason to a conservative mind. As to would-be reformers, who commit acts of treason in the vain hope of doing a good work of progress, we can only say that they take their chances. If a man is not positively sure that his resistance to the law is a true act of reform, or a better and juster arrangement of society, he had better leave the work to other men; and even those men who feel

quite sure that they are called upon to become reformers should carefully question their own sentiments, lest their vanity inveigle them to enter upon a thorny path, which to them appears as one of martyrdom, but in fact is only the error of an empty dream. Both will suffer equally, the reformer and the vain-glorious prophet of error, but the former only will live as the martyr of a great cause; the latter will perish without even being respected or even so much as pitied by following generations." All who are interested in the subjects considered in this little book will find it well worth their attention.

CITIZENSHIP. A Book for Classes in Government and Law. By Julius H. Seelye, D. D., LL.D., late President of Amherst College. Boston: Ginn & Co. 1894.

This is the title of an elementary text-book. It first considers the general foundation of law and government, and then treats in particular of international and national law, under the latter head confining itself especially to the consideration of the national law of the United States of America. Constitutional law, administrative law, political law, civil law, individual rights and duties, natural relationship, etc., are some of the subjects to which special attention is directed. Profound philosophy and practical knowledge are so well blended in the book that it cannot fail to interest as well as instruct the student.

In these days when men are accustomed to have slight regard for the State, and to speak of government and law as something that might easily be laid aside or done away with, we welcome the voice of the scholar and thinker who tells us that these institutions are sacred, that they are based on eternal principles, and that they must be maintained. The positions taken by the author throughout are consistent and sound, and the book will be found to be of inestimable worth to any one interested in the subject of citizenship. It should be used as a text-book in the schools.

THE CAMBRIDGE GREEK TESTAMENT FOR SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES, with Revised Text and English Notes. Prepared under the direction of J. J. S. Perowne, D.D., Bishop of Worcester. London: C. J. Clay & Sons.

As this work is designed especially for schools and colleges, we do not need to offer any apology for noticing it here. It is an excellent series of volumes now nearly complete, and can be had of Macmillan & Co., New York. The mechanical work is good for the price, the volumes are of convenient size, the typography of the Greek text is a pleasure to the eye, and the notes, while brief, are pointed and suggestive. The Greek text is constructed on the consent of the latest critical editions of Tischendorf and Tregelles, and when they differ on the consent of Stephens with either of these, and when he differs from both, on that of Lachman, which gives, it is claimed, a very reliable and close approximation to the original copy. The

introductory chapters and the notes to the several volumes have been prepared by men of unquestioned faith and piety, representing the best talent and ripest Christian scholarship of the Church of England. If carefully studied, these books cannot fail to benefit the seeker after truth.

The venerable F. W. Farrar, D.D., Archdeacon of Westminster, furnished the introductory chapters and the comments for St. Luke's Gospel and for the Epistle to the Hebrews. The former, on page 416, contains an excursus under the caption, "On Putting New (neon) Wine into Fresh (kainos) Bottles," in which the venerable Archdeacon attempts to justify an explanation of the parable or simile contained in the fifth chapter and thirty-seventh and thirty-eighth verses of the Gospel which hitherto has not obtained much currency or favor. His scholarship and his ability as an exegete are such that one hesitates, even by way of suggestion, to call in question the soundness of any of his attempted solutions of scriptural problems. But he is not at all dogmatic, and makes us feel that, in the present instance, he has presented his views tentatively. We give them substantially and briefly as follows:

"It is usually considered a sufficient explanation of this passage to say that the 'bottles' of the ancients were skins, and not bottles of glass; and that whereas fermenting wine would burst old, worn and sun-cracked skins, it would only distend new skins.

"It is exceedingly doubtful whether such an explanation is tenable.

"1. It is quite true that the 'bottles' of the East were skins, as the Greek word *askos* implies.

"2. It is also quite true that the wine must here mean the juice of the grape which has not yet fermented, 'must,' as this explanation implies. For 'still wine'—wine *after* fermentation—may be put in any bottles, whether old or new. It has no tendency to burst the bottles that contain it.

"3. But unfermented wine which was intended to ferment certainly could not be kept in any kind of leather bottles, whether old or new. The fermentation would split open the sutures of the leather, however new the bottle was.

"4. It seems therefore to be a very probable conclusion that our Lord is not thinking at all of fermented, intoxicating wine, but of 'must'—the liquid which the Greeks called *aei gleukos*, tuns of which are kept for years in France and in the East.

"5. Why, then, would it be unsafe to put the *must* in old bottles? Because if the old bottles had contained 'wine' in the ordinary sense—i. e., the fermented juice of the grape—or other materials, minute portions of albuminoid matter would be left adhering to the skin, and receive yeast germs from the air, and keep them in readiness to set up fermentation in the new unfermented contents of the skin. As soon as the unfermented grape was introduced, the yeast germs would begin to grow in the sugar and to develop carbonic dioxide. If the *must* contained one-fifth sugar it would develop 47

times its volume of gas. * * * 'The rending force of the pent-up gas would burst even the strongest iron-bound cask.' When fermentation is intended, it goes on in the wine-vat."

That the Saviour used the term *οἶνος* is not disputed, nor indeed can it be, for it is also found in the corresponding passages of the other synoptists. Elsewhere in the Gospels where it is employed it cannot by any fair construction or interpretation be made to mean anything but wine in the proper sense. The same is true of it as used in other books of the New Testament; the term *γλευκός* is found but once. It occurs in the second chapter of Acts at the thirteenth verse. But even here this term does not mean *must*—fresh juice of the grape,—for it is used by some of the multitude to account for the ecstatic state in which the apostles were immediately after the descent of the Holy Ghost upon them, it being regarded by them as a state of intoxication. It is a pure assumption, therefore, to say that, "the wine must here mean the juice of the grape which has not yet been fermented."

That the pure juice of the grape, tightly enclosed in skins, whether old or new, for the purpose of fermentation, would burst them at the sutures is undoubtedly true; but it is not likely that it was put into them in that form or for that purpose, and the Saviour does not say or even imply that it was, on the contrary He speaks of new wine—*οἶνος νέον*.

It is a fact well attested by experience that, even after the dregs have settled, new wine will again undergo fermentation if disturbed by being transferred from one vessel to another, unless this operation be performed at a certain low temperature. In a climate like that of Palestine wines could not be easily and safely handled. It was a grape-growing country. Many, perhaps, were able to provide themselves with means for the safe handling of wines; but the mass of the people in the midst of whom and to and for whom the Saviour spake His parables, had very limited facilities for securing its preservation in the form referred to. Moreover, it is not always easy to determine the exact point of time at which wine becomes perfectly still, because fluctuations of temperature when it nears that stage readily affect it. Is it not more satisfactory to explain the passage by allowing that the *must* was permitted to ferment in the vat and afterwards, as *new wine*, put into *new bottles*, so as to guard against loss by a renewal of fermentation? The new skins would admit of some distension which might be discovered before any serious damage would ordinarily occur. And even with this precaution there would sometimes be a loss to both wine and skins.

As to the presence of albuminoid matter and yeast germs from the atmosphere in the old skins, they could readily be removed or destroyed by the use of boiling water or other means not unknown to the Jews, so that the danger from that source would be reduced to a minimum.

The series cannot be too highly commended to all Bible students.

A. J. H.

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BY REV. J. M. SCHICK, D. D.

Names of Contributors.

Abbott, G. N., Prof.....G. N. A.	Dubbs, Joseph H., D.D.....J. H. D.
Accola, O. E., D.D.....O. E. A.	Epstein, Eph. M., M.D.....E. M. E.
Appel, Th., D.D.....T. A.	Eschbach, Edmund R., D.D...E. R. E.
Apple, John W., A.M.....J. W. A.	Faber, W. F., Rev.....W. F. F.
Apple, Joseph H., D.D.....J. H. A.	Faulkner, John A., D. D.....J. A. F.
Apple, T. G., D.D., LL. D...T. G. A.	Ferriere, James L., A.M.....J. L. F.
Ashman, W. N., Judge.....W. N. A.	Fisher, Nevin H.....N. H. F.
Baer, Geo. F., LL. D.....G. F. B.	—— Samuel R., D.D.....S. R. F.
Balliet, T. M., Prof.....T. M. B.	Fox, F., Rev.....F. F.
Barkley, T. J., D.D.....T. J. B.	Franklin, Walter M., A.M...W. M. F.
Bauman, J. A., Prof.....J. A. B.	Gast, Charles E., A.M.....C. E. G.
Beam, S. Z., D.D.....S. Z. B.	—— Frederick A., D.D....F. A. G.
Beardsley, W. A.....W. A. B.	Gekeler, H. S., Rev.....H. S. G.
Beck, T. Romyn, D.D.....T. R. B.	Gerhard, A. S., M.D., A.M...A. S. G.
Bowman, John C., D.D.....J. C. B.	—— Calvin S., D.D.....C. S. G.
Bridenbaugh, S. R., A. M....S. R. B.	Giesy, S. H., D.D.....S. H. G.
Brendle, D. F., D.D.....D. F. B.	Graeff, I. E., D.D.....I. E. G.
Brengle, Francis.....F. B.	Guilford, S. A.....S. A. G.
Briggs, C. A., D.D., LL. D...C. A. B.	Hale, W. A., D.D.....W. A. H.
Buehrle, R. K., A.M.....R. K. B.	Hall, Wm., Rev.....W. H.
Callender, S. N., D.D.....S. N. C.	Hansen Maurice G., A. M...M. G. H.
Carpenter, Henry.....H. C.	Hark, J. Max, Rev.....J. M. H.
Chambers, Talbot W., D.D...T. W. C.	Harris, Alexander.....A. H.
Clever, Conrad, D.D.....C. Cl.	—— W. T., LL. D.....W. T. H.
Cooper, Jacob, S.T.D., D.C.L...J. Co.	Hartzel, J. S., A.M.....J. S. H.
Cort, Cyrus, D.D.....C. Co.	Heisler, D. Y., D.D.....D. Y. H.
Craddock, Richard J.....R. J. C.	Helffrich, W. A., D. D.....W. A. H.
Crawford, James, D.D.....J. C.	Heller, A. J., D.D.....A. J. H.
Crum, C. W. R., Prof.....C. W. R. C.	Hess, J. S., Hon.....J. S. H.
Dahlman, A. E., Rev.....A. E. D.	Hibshman, H. H. W., D.D.
Davis, P. S., D.D.....P. S. D.	—— H. H. W. H.
De Baun, J. A., D.D.....J. A. DeB.	Higbee, E. E., D.D., LL.D...E. E. H.
Diefenderfer, Frank R.....F. R. D.	Hughes, R. W., LL.D.....R. W. H.

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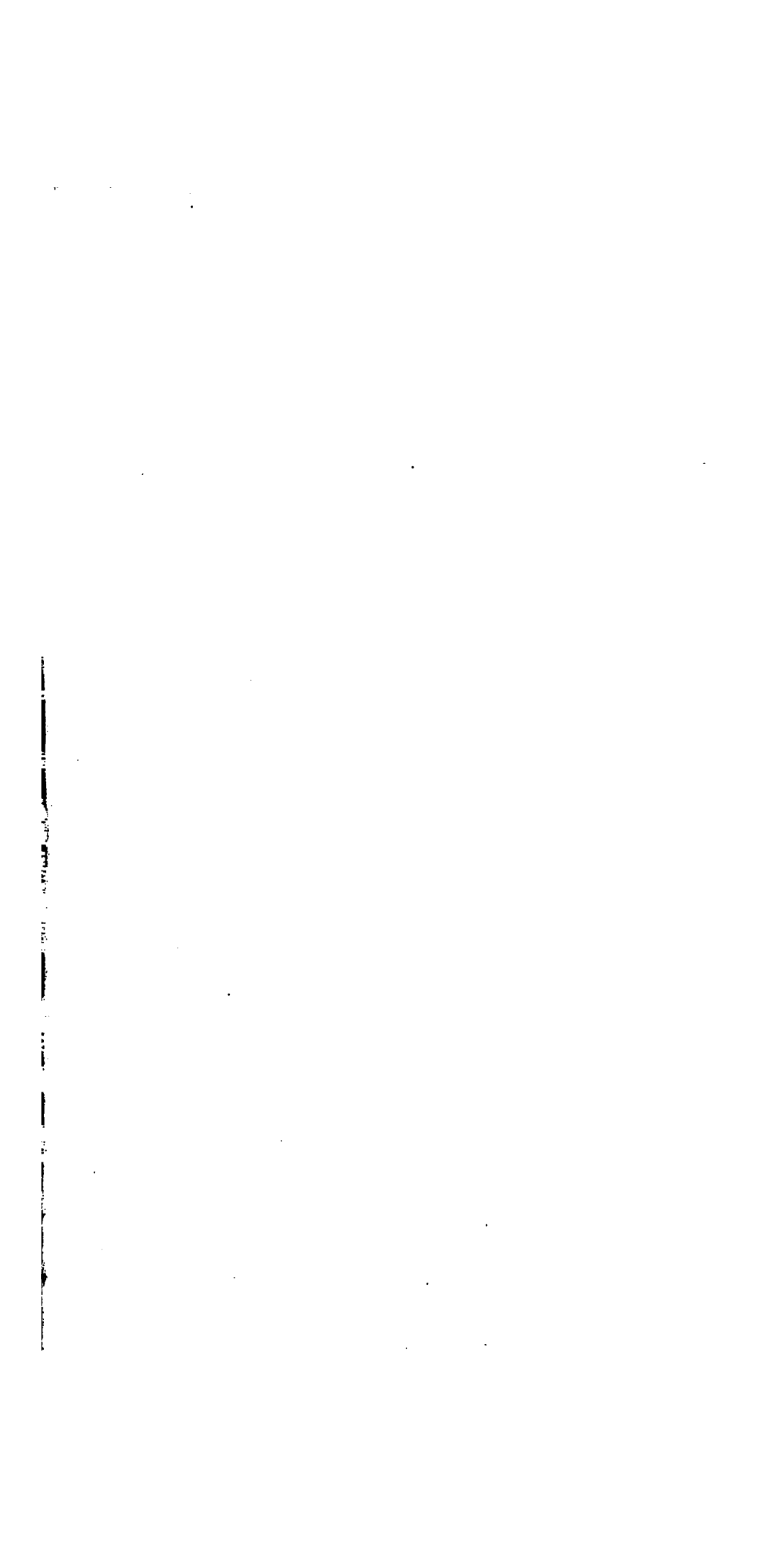
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